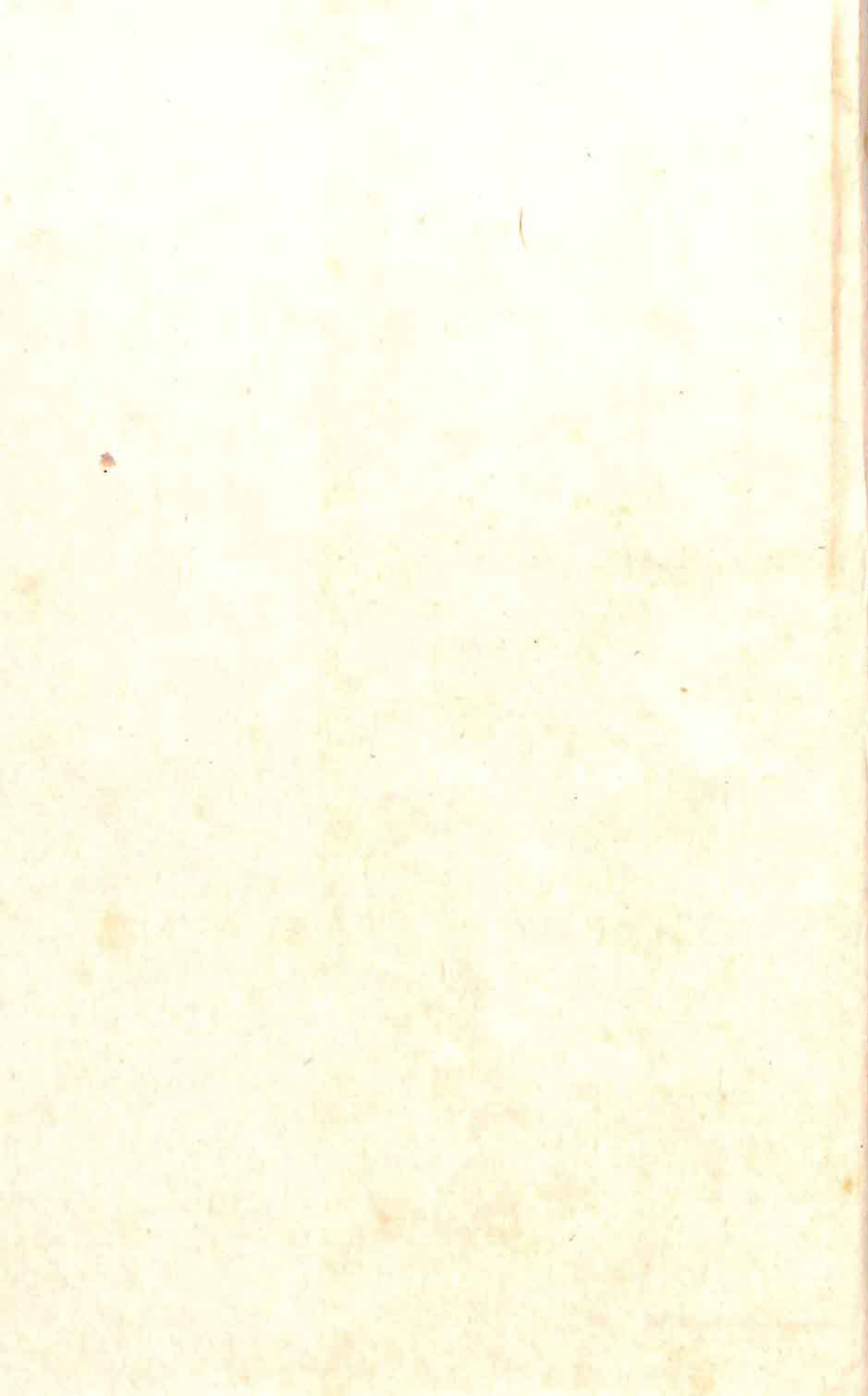


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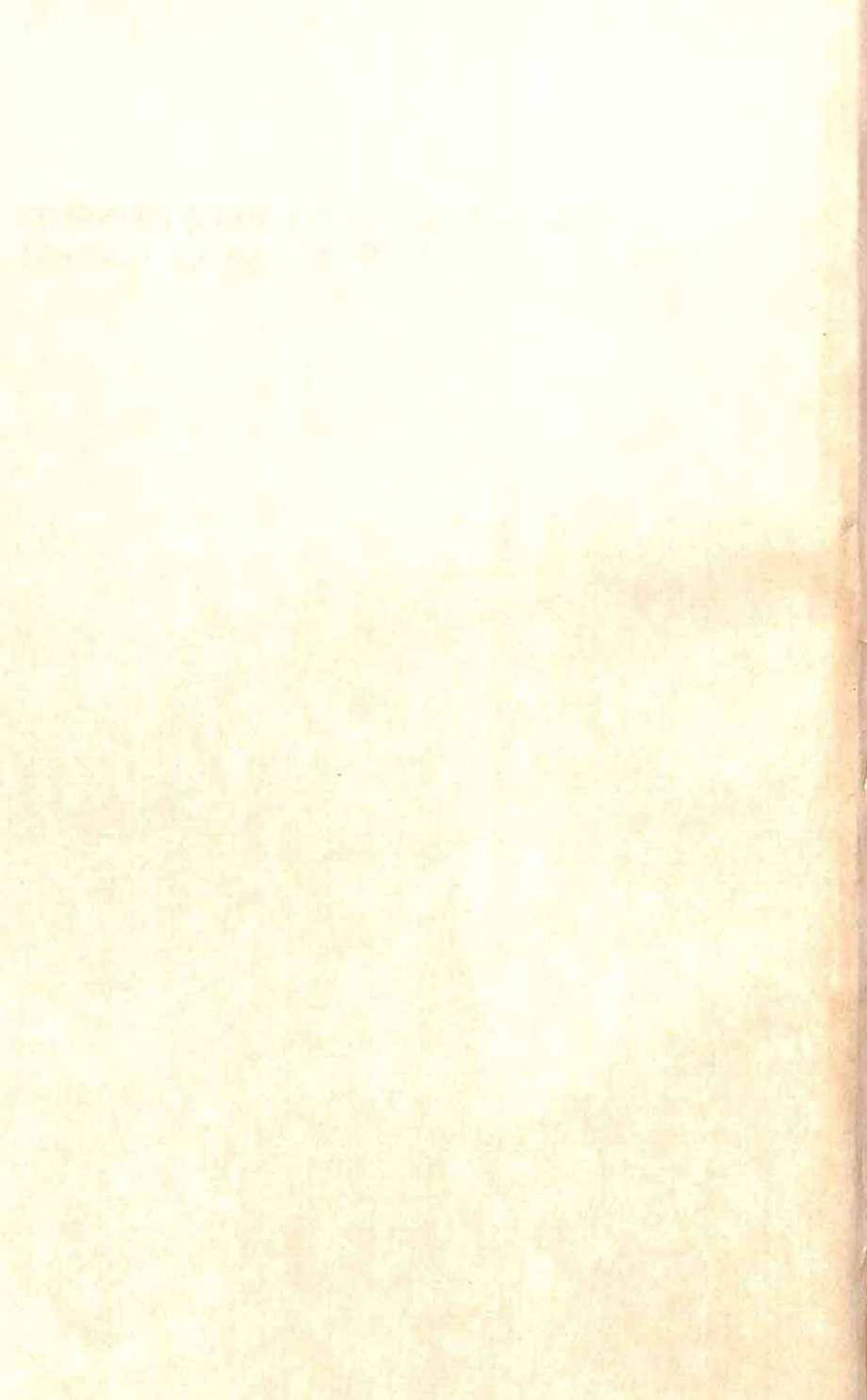
S.C.GHOSE



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TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIP
AND ITS IMPACT ON STUDENT UNREST



Teacher-Student Relationship and its Impact on Student Unrest

SUBHAS CHANDRA GHOSE



NORTHERN BOOK CENTRE
NEW DELHI

ISBN 81-85119-70-8

Acc NO - 15461

Prof. R. P. Agarwal has acted as Research Consultant on behalf of Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi for the publication of this book and the suggestions made by him have been incorporated.

The publication has been financially supported by ICSSR and the responsibility for the facts stated, opinions expressed or conclusions reached is entirely that of the author and that the ICSSR accepts no responsibility for them.

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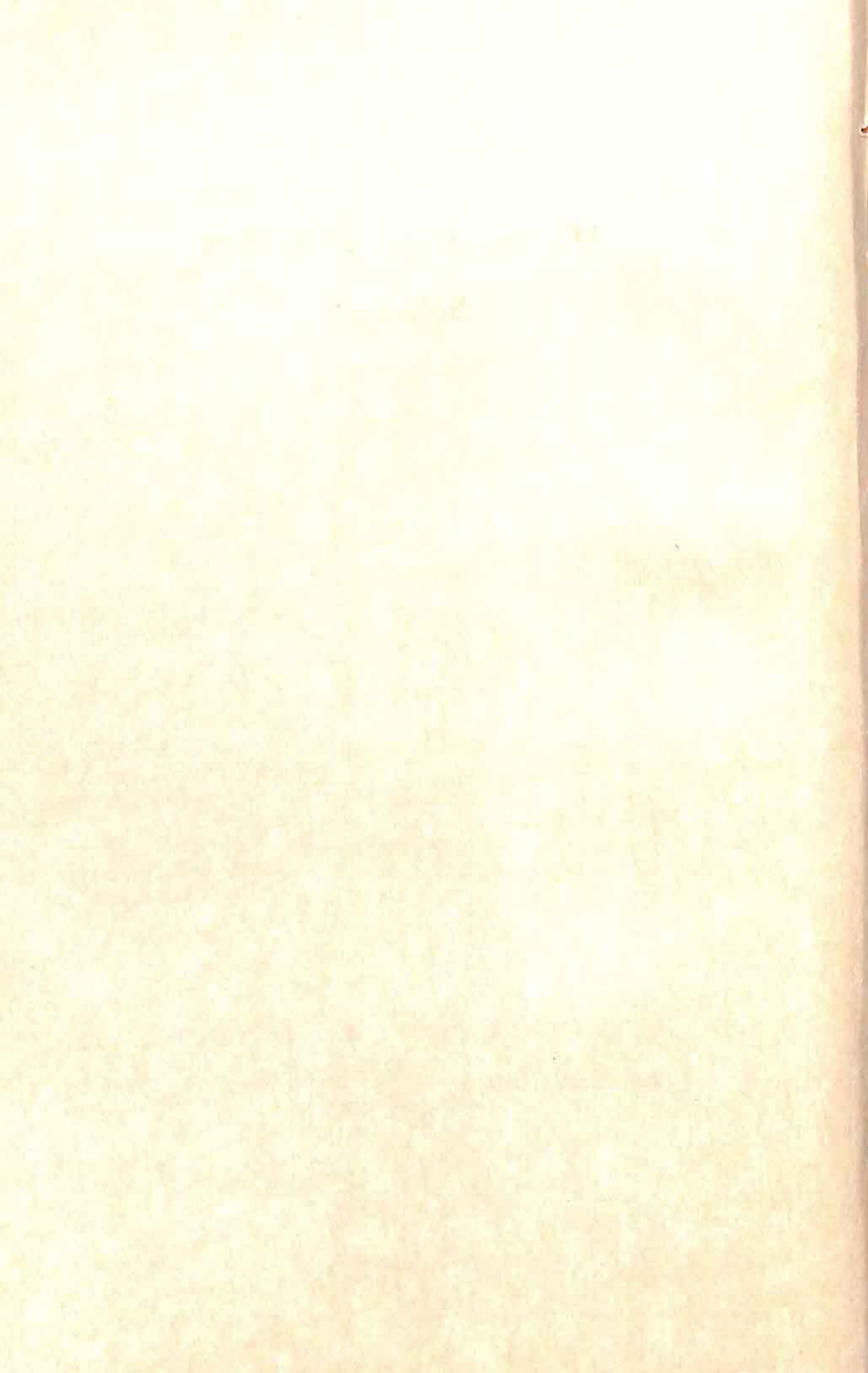
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Price : Rs 110.00

Published by Northern Book Centre, 4221/1, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110 002.

Printed at Swatantra Bharat Press, 423, Esplanade Road, Delhi-110 006.

To
My Dear Departed Brother
Sukumar



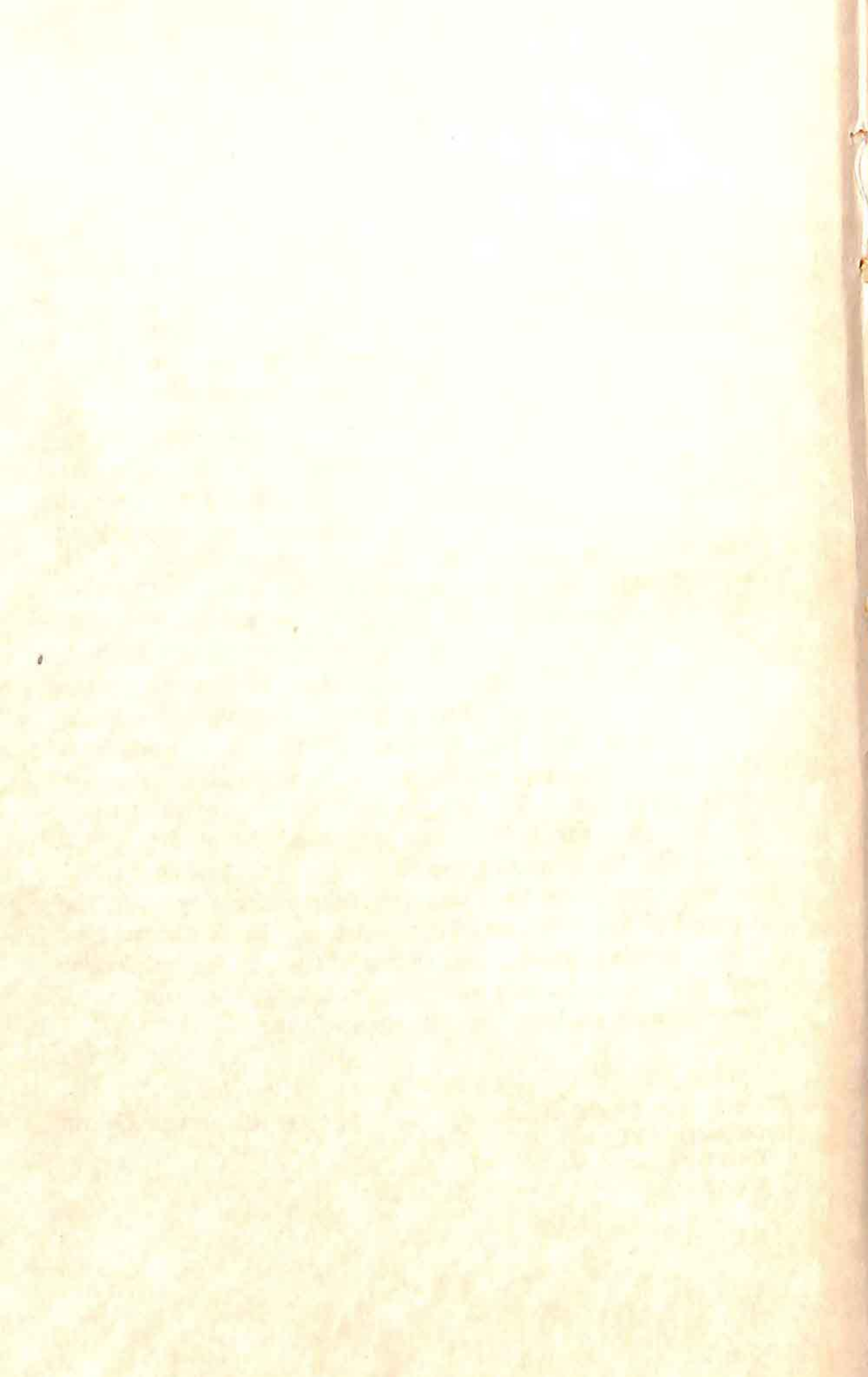
PREFACE

The present study is a modest attempt to investigate into the problem of students, commonly known as student unrest, in the perspective of attitudes and behaviour of their teachers, other seniors in a college like non-teaching employees, Governing Body members, Principals and others in the backdrop of, inter alia, the institutional milieu.

In presenting the study in its present form I have enjoyed the cooperation of a good number of individuals and institutions. I sincerely thank all of them. I am especially grateful to Dr N.C. Choudhury, Professor of Sociology and Social Anthropology, University of North Bengal, for his careful supervision and constant inspiration; University Grants Commission, New Delhi, for providing Teacher Fellowship to me to work for Ph.D.; Sri S.N. Chakraborty, the then Principal, and the honourable members of the then Governing Body of the college, for promptly releasing me to join the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology as a UGC Teacher Fellow to take up the work without any waste of time; Ms Siuli Ghose, my life-partner, for her immense help at all stages of the study; ICSSR, New Delhi, for arranging the publication grant without which the work might not have seen the light of the day; and Shri Pratap Vaish, proprietor of the Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, for his prompt acceptance of the work for publication and the earnest endeavour in publishing the work satisfactorily within a brief possible span of time.

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Introduction

Student unrest is no longer a local and a naive phenomenon. It is by now much threatening in proportions, transmitting shock-waves to every nook and corner of not only a particular region but of the entire globe. Authorities of educational institutions and governmental establishments are seriously pondering over the containment of the phenomenon. Concerned at the gravity of the problem the late Prime Minister Smt Indira Gandhi and the ex-Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Mrs Madhuri Shah contemplated "in favour of having a full-time University Security Force in almost all the universities in the country ... to curb student indiscipline on campuses" (The Statesman : 15-12-81, 11).

The problem requires proper attention and specifically thorough analysis. But, unfortunately, there have been, until now, a very few systematic attempts in India, dealing with the problem. "We have had no systematic studies of student unrest in the country except by a few visiting scholars from the United States" (Joshi : 1972, 220). The observation, though made more than a decade ago, continues to hold good to the present. But the few systematic attempts, it may be noted, so far dealing with the problem in India, have mostly viewed it broadly.

Relevant Literature

So far, there have been much general writings on student unrest mostly from the view points of the elders in authority. The present study is a modest attempt to examine the

problem of unrest from the points of view of students, their expectations from their teachers and other elders in the college and outside of it.

“While there have been too many explanations of student unrest in India there has not been much analysis of the problem from the perspective of students — their expectation from the political and educational systems” (Ray : 1979, 301).

It is relevant to refer to Singh and Albatch when they write “Studies of the nature of Professors in India, their incomes, social backgrounds, attitudes and other aspects have seldom been made Very little attention has been given to the problems and attitudes of students. Academic institutions must understand their students and begin to deal constructively with their problems. Attitude surveys of student needs, studies of the conditions of activism, and of the physical, psychological and academic problems facing students are all important” (Singh and Albatch : 1974, XIV—XV).

While the present study is undertaken with the above stated need in view, efforts may now be made to have a sweeping survey of the relevant literature to bring in sharp focus the pertinent finds and to point out the relevance and justification of the present work.

Some of the important and relevant studies on student unrest may include the following : Kabir (1958), Sarkar (1960), Cormack (1961), Albatch (1968), Ross (1969), Sarkar (1974), Srivastava (1974), Vidyarthi (1976), Mehra (1977), Ray (1972) and Aikora (1977).

Study by Kabir (1958) is a pioneering work not only in the sense that it is “the first attempt to look at the problem of student unrest in the perspective of social changes—effected by the Second World War and the attainment of independence” (Bhatt : 1972, 288) but also in the sense that it seems to have set the tone and trend for much of the subsequent literature on student unrest.

“The first and foremost cause of the present state of unrest among students is to be found in the role the teachers play” (Kabir : 1958, 2).

Almost substantiating the observation of Kabir, Sarkar (1960) finds, among other things, that “there are two very

painful things in Indian universities today. One, the rooted distrust which students have about motives and purposes of university authorities, the other, the demoralisation and apathy among teachers" (Sarkar : 1960, 19).

Edward Shils who has written a number of books and articles on Indian students and intellectuals pertinently observes that "The mass of students would never have come forward into the arena of agitation unless there were a few who showed that it could be done with impunity" (Shils : 1968, 74).

The study by Ross (1969) is an excellent one. She devotes much space in her work on women teachers while throwing light upon their attitudes to students; studies, teaching styles and professional responsibilities.

According to Ross, teachers and not the students are indisciplined. Majority of the teachers are either late for their classes or do not turn up at all and when they lecture, it is often in the easiest way. Student frustrations, she continues to comment, can mostly be traced to indifferent teachers and unprogressive teaching.

Very much critical of the Indian women teachers, Ross, herself a woman, finds them "particularly unsure of themselves especially when lecturing to boys. Their weak control over their students may be partly due to the fact that they tend to lecture in low, monotonous voices which are very hard for the students to hear". Another factor is that "they are less interested in their students. . . . They go to college, lecture,—which usually means dictating notes that they themselves often do not understand—then they go home. . . . Part of their attitude results from the fact that the great majority of them lecture only for a few years before marrying. . . . they pass the time lecturing and waiting for a husband. This is the main reason why they do not give their work the devotion that the task demands" (Ross : 1969, 105).

Sarkar (1974), on the strength of his seven year-long observation, as a college teacher, of the affairs of many colleges in Bihar noted that "Most depressing affair is the disharmonious relationship among members of certain departments. among the heads of certain departments, and at times, between certain subordinate members and their departmental bosses" (Sarkar : 1974, 78).

"According to the consensus of the population under the purview of the present study, the factor of the lack of adequate teacher-taught contact has been considered as responsible to a great extent (83.50%) for developing student indiscipline in this state" (Ibid., 105).

Srivastava (1974), pointing to the background of the campus violence, notes that "The university is a mechanism of stratification and preservation of differential opportunity structure. It creates a polysigmental structure of vested interests which resort to feudalistic intrigues in driving away the Vice-Chancellors as a show of power-supremacy in the campus. . . . These groups are now determined to 'physically crush' the opponents. The social type is an ideal host to the germs of Rightist-revivalist politics prone to revolutionary process, reducing it to an anti-university campus where prevails an acute crisis of confidence".

Vidyarthi (1976) pointing to the same background notes that "The organised minority group of students with the blessings of a section of non-conformist teachers of the respective campus and owing to the actionless and unimaginative role of the university or college executives and sometimes supported by the visible or invisible outsiders succeed in creating chaos and disturbances in the campus".

There "two classes of teachers co-exist in the colleges or university"—'conformist' and 'non-conformist'. 'The conformist teachers' are those who are dedicated to teaching and research and have a pent up desire to maintain a decent academic atmosphere. . . . The non-conformist teachers are essentially the dissenters and they compromise with extra academic norms. They are not fully devoted to teaching and research and develop political affiliation or enter into caste-based factions or cliques. They get greatly involved in university politics and use their offices and power politics for achieving extra academic objectives (Vidyarthi : 1976, 224).

"While the few non-conformist teachers wield powerful influences in the university and exercise control on the decision-making, the conformist teachers with their high ideals and rich experience get alienated from the main stream of unacademic activities, and are mainly adored silently by the disorganised students, teachers and serious minded public men" (Ibid.).

A few more studies may be referred to and their findings relevant to the present study may be taken note of, before this section is concluded.

Mehra (1977) observes that "the respondents do not generally. . . find the environments of their colleges as congenial to studies. Some are not satisfied with the mode of teaching, some find the libraries inadequate and some are dissatisfied with the amenities provided by the institution" (Mehra : 1977, 161-62).

Ray (1977) makes an important study. It shows the inter-relationship between student politics, faculty politics and party politics in India in the context of a national university—the Benaras Hindu University.

It appears from the studies and their observations noted above that student unrest owes much to the teachers, executives, authorities, the authority-structures and the campus situations. Though we are on the verge of entering the 21st century, we are not as much progressive in our outlooks as we are expected to be. Kabir, writing as early as in the late (19) 50s, is so much relevant to the present situations when he says "The authoritarian character of the existing system of education is also an important factor in the growth of student unrest and indiscipline. This is a reflection of the authoritarian temper of our society where difference of opinion with an elder is often regarded as disrespect for him. The students. . . are generally passive recipients of orders from above (Kabir : 1958, 10).

The single most important factor contributing to the dissatisfactions and disappointments among students is that students fail to receive the expected affection and attention from their teachers and others in the educational world. An intimate teacher-student relation may go a long way in dissuading the angry and indifferent students from embarking upon the road to violence, damage and death.

Problem

It is a fact that harmonious teacher-student relationship is an important medium of education, including education of the young minds, apart from its significant role in reducing tension

in the relation. It is desired that in every educational institution—school, college or university—a close and cordial teacher-student relationship should exist to serve as useful channel of smooth transmission of knowledge from teachers to students. And in the act of the transmission of knowledge from one to another, personality of teacher is an important determinant of the type of teacher-student relationship that is to follow. This is true through the Indian history—from the early Vedic times down to the present.

In ancient and medieval India, teacher-student relationship in the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim centres of learning, was apparently close because the centres were residential and the number of students per teacher was small. But the close teacher-student relationship soon began to suffer with the emergence of the regular institutions like Takshashila and Nalanda.

When judged by the “rules of respect” governing the teacher-student relationship in ancient and medieval India, it was more a relationship between god and man than a relationship between man (teacher) and man (student). It was an intimate relationship more in the physical sense than in the real sense.

Hindu teachers, backed by a rigid educational system and certain other social conditions, were very much authoritarian and the Hindu system much more pervasive and permanent than the Buddhist and Muslim systems in its influence upon the educational centres, particularly, on their teachers, up to the present times.

During the British era in India, it was the “ruling race idea” that dominated everything tangible. Indians as a whole were neglected, their merit was hardly appreciated. As an inevitable result, Indian teachers were not honoured people and much less the Indian students. There were occasional clashes between Indian teachers and European or Anglo-Indian students, on the one hand, European, particularly, British teachers and Indian students, on the other. However, teachers (the European teachers in this case) remained authoritarian in their relation to their students.

Teacher-student relationship, in this era, was a bitter one. It was a relationship of domination and exploitation of the

Indians (including teachers and students) by the Europeans (including teachers and students).

In the post independent India, situations changed but teachers, among others, failed to part with their centuries-old authoritarian mentality further reinforced by the Britishers. Students, conscious of their power (power that played a significant role in driving the imperial British from India) broke into protesting spree for their expectations of sympathy and understanding from their teachers stumbled over the hard rock of reality.

It is under this perspective that efforts have been made to understand empirically the student, the teacher and others of seven undergraduate non-professional colleges in the 1979-80 academic session of North Bengal (the northern half of the state of West Bengal in India).

It is found that images of teachers are created by their own activities inside or outside the class rooms and it is in response to these activities of teachers that students are respectful, indifferent or even disrespectful towards their teachers. Good teaching followed by sympathy and good behaviour wins the respect and admiration for a teacher from students.

Teaching and research are acknowledged to be complementary but a few teachers are research-oriented. They spend a good deal of their time on politics, private tuition, their easy going nature, etc. Devoted and academically serious teachers are few.

Teachers are dwarfed, in the eyes of their students, by their unedifying personal lives, discriminatory attitudes among teachers of different subjects of different faculties of colleges with different managements and between teachers of university and colleges.

It springs no surprise when, in such a background, teachers are insulted or even assaulted by their students.

Teachers are, more or less, politically involved and this paves the way for students' political involvement. When both teachers and students are politically involved, there emerges the next stage, political grouping among teachers followed by similar grouping among students. Common faith in a political party leads to grouping. Teachers bound by a common political faith are linked to students bound by the

identical political faith. Thus, politics divides teachers as much as students. There are political parties having their student-wings. This leads to many groups among teachers and, consequently, among students. And political division frequently entails clashes with serious consequences leading to manhandling of teachers, damaging of college property and the like.

There is another dimension of the problem. Teacher-non-teacher relationship is strained and this strained relationship affects, in turn, the teacher-student relationship. When students find that their teachers are not respected by the non-teaching employees, Governing Body members and others, students' already indifferent attitudes towards their teachers are further intensified. When insults or assaults upon teachers by their students are not decried by the non-teaching employees, Governing Body members and others, students feel justified in their actions. Thus, the teacher-non-teacher strained relationship leads to the teacher-student strained relationship.

In the background of the analysis of the problem, the following specific inquiries are proposed to be made :

1. Whether the continued authoritarian and negligent behaviour of teachers through the ages—from the Vedic down to the present times—has driven the student of the present to behave indifferently and disrespectfully in relation to their teachers and others ;
2. Whether the attitudes including the political attitudes and personal outlooks of the present teachers contribute to the aggravation of teacher-student relation as it is found these days ; and
3. Whether the strained teacher-non-teacher relationship plays any role in the destabilisation of the teacher-student relationship.

Relevance

In view of the discussion so far, it clearly emerges that personality of a teacher is very important in establishing a harmonious relation with his students. Students behave as they are behaved to. They are what they are led to be.

A harmonious teacher-student relationship is the most urgently needed thing. While the importance of it is well recognised, there is no work exclusively on it. The author has not come across any. The present work is a modest attempt to fill up the vacuum.

As a result of mass education, there is less of teacher-taught contact. "Students proclaim that they are little more than units in an anonymous mass, numbers on a computer tape, and to the professor faceless beings in a lecture hall. They insist that they have no opportunity to develop meaningful personal relationships with professors who are indifferent to their needs and problems" (Kirk : 1971, 26).

The neglected students, as a result, clamour for attention through unrest and attempt at self-assertion through indisciplined behaviour.

"We are informed on the authority of an unpublished study of 1200 cases undertaken by the Union Ministry of Home Affairs. . . .that fifty per cent of the students participating in agitations were dissatisfied with their teachers or educational institutions and the remaining fifty per cent participated at the instance of political parties" (Singhvi : 1972, 16).

Almost echoing Singhvi, M.N. Srinivas writes "Large numbers of indifferent students badly taught by ill-qualified teachers with no concept of decent teacher-student relationships provide an ideal 'culture' for the fomenting of student unrest (Srinivas : 1972, 102-3).

The increasing importance of it is felt by all concerned. According to the Report of the Education Commission (1966) under the Chairmanship of D.S. Kothari, "What binds together students and teachers in a deep and creative partnership is the sharing of common interests, mutual regard and sense of values, and working together for their main purpose which is the pursuit of knowledge and discovery. Anyone who is not committed to this philosophy or prepared to honour it has really no place in an institution of higher education".

Quite aware of the enormous importance of the problem of decreasing teacher-student relationship, the author has undertaken the present study.

Research Design

Collection of Data

Data for the study were collected by the author as a UGC Teacher Fellow by employing the following methods: (1) Questionnaire ; (2) Interview ; (3) Observation ; and (4) Literature-Survey. Prior to surveying the field with the questionnaire, the field of study was surveyed with an interview guide at the pilot study stage.

Questionnaires in the final round of survey could not be sent to the set people by post for the reason that it failed to work up to the expected mark. The author, in person, visited from college to college to collect the data on the basis of the questionnaires preceded by, as far as practicable, personal interviews with the respondents individually, at their hostels, colleges, offices, residences and elsewhere. Both the questionnaires as well as interviews backed by keen observation were made use of, as neither, to the exclusion of the other, was found adequate for gathering the correct and sufficient data.

There were five sets of questionnaire meant for : (1) students ; (2) teachers ; (3) non-teaching employees ; (4) principals ; and (5) Governing Body members.

Besides questionnaire, interview and observation, the author also made use of relevant literature including important newspaper clippings to strengthen the inquiry into the field of study.

Universe

The universe of the study comprised five districts of North Bengal: West Dinajpur, Malda, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, and Darjeeling.

In 1979-80, there were 26 non-professional colleges of which: 12 were private colleges, 9 government-sponsored colleges, 2 university colleges, 2 government colleges, and 1 missionary college. Of these, 7 colleges of different managerial categories and characters were selected for the study. One was a university college while another a government-sponsored college. One was a missionary college while another a government college. One was a private college while another a women's college (government-sponsored). One was a college of Arts and Commerce (private) while another a college of Commerce only (private).

Colleges of different managements (private, government, government-sponsored, university, missionary, etc.) and also those of different characters (Women's college, college of Commerce only, etc.) were selected with a view to studying their attitudes towards one another—attitudes of teachers, students, non-teaching staff, Governing Body members and others of one college to those of another.

It was one of the major research questions whether teachers of missionary/government/university colleges had high brow attitudes to those of government-sponsored/private colleges. There appeared, again, some feelings of complexes on the part of teachers and others: (a) between missionary college and government college; (b) between university college and government college; (c) between government-sponsored college and private college or the like. In order to pursue the said assumptions, it was necessary to study colleges of different managements.

It has been shown in Table 2 : 1 that, of the seven listed colleges, one is different from the other, in one respect or another. There are two private colleges but one is purely a Commerce college while the other is a college offering both Arts and Commerce. The two are again in two districts. There are two government-sponsored colleges but one is a purely Women's college while the other co-educational.

Table—2 : 1
Universe of the study

Districts	Colleges	Managerial categories	Characters	Streams
West Dinajpur	Kaliyaganj College Raiganj College	Private University	Co-educational ,,	Arts & Commerce Arts, Commerce & Science
Malda	Malda College	Government sponsored	,,	,,
Jalpaiguri	A.C. College of Commerce P.D. Women's College	Private Government sponsored	,, Women's	Commerce Arts & Science
Cooch Behar	A.B.N. Seal College	Government	Co-educational	,,
Darjeeling	St. Joseph's College	Missionary	,,	Arts & Science

Further, numbers of private colleges and government-sponsored colleges are much larger than any other category of colleges. It is taken into consideration while increasing the number of private and government-sponsored colleges.

Sample

Most of the principals and Governing Body members were found unwilling to give research data in writing. As a compensatory measure, the author had interviews with them and elicited their views on the problem. Responses from 100 teachers, 270 students and 30 non-teaching employees had been received.

Table 2 : 2 shows that 400 respondents gave their reactions to the printed questions of the questionnaires meant for them. In addition, intensive interviews were held with a good number of teachers, students and others to have an insight into the research problem.

It may be mentioned that students were selected from the top-most classes only because it was found that those senior students were in a much better position, with a few years of experience in the college at their disposal, to give mature

Table—2 : 2
The sample

Total colleges	Sam-ple colleges	Teachers of colleges	Students of colleges of 2nd/3rd year	Non-teaching Staff of colleges working in Office (not in Library)	Total				
		Total No.	Sample Total	Total No.	Sample Total	Grand Total	Grand Sample Total		
26	7	238	100	1374	270	79	30	1691	400
		(42.0)			(19.6)		(37.9)		(23.6)

views about their teachers, non-teaching employees and others, plus about the prevailing situations in the college.

Non-teaching employees were selected from the college office only, because college office with the principal at the apex was found to provide the real strength of the college administration. One way or other, everyone of the college has to depend upon the college office and thus boosting up its importance. It is with this end in view, that efforts had been made to select two fourth grade employees, two third grade employees and one head clerk from each of the seven colleges under study. Library has always seemed to stand at a distance from the main show of a college. This is why library staff has not been included into the purview.

It appears from Table 2 : 2 that teachers, students and non-teaching employees of the listed colleges have not come out in their responses uniformly or proportionately to the respective totals. This is because the same degree of co-operation has not been received from each of the colleges.

Treatment of Data

The data collected have been processed, both manually and with the help of an electronic calculator, in the form of tables. Data presented in the tables are then given the necessary interpretations backed, when and where necessary, by the authoritative references. In the final shape of the study 58 Tables and 1 diagram have been made use of : 28 Tables on teachers, 19 Tables on students, 9 Tables on non-

teaching employees and 2 Tables and 1 diagram on methodology.

Context for Understanding Teacher-Student Relationship

The teacher-student relationship is understood in the background of the following definition of student unrest :

Unrest and indiscipline are very often taken for synonyms. But there is a difference. They are two different expressions of the same mental tension. While the former is mostly covert, the latter is mostly overt. "Unrest may be said to be the covert phase, and indiscipline the overt phase of the same process of mental tension" (Sarkar : 1974, 9).

The author understands unrest in Sarkar's sense and the teacher-student relation is taken to be disturbed when such a mental tension (in its overt or covert form) affects the relation. On the surface, nothing disturbing may be visible but under it there may be enough of it. A student, for example, may have some unexpressed grievances towards a teacher or some strong dislike in his mind for a teacher and as a result the student does not feel respectful towards the teacher. Such mental phases may not be expressed in any untoward actions but may be read in his attitudes towards a particular teacher.

When somebody has such a covert phase in his mind towards somebody else, such a relation between the two may be described as a disturbed relation. Such a mental phase, when long continued, may break into insults or assaults on either of them. Teacher-student relationship is understood in this light. "... even those who do not resort to strikes and demonstrations are violent at heart" (Ibid., 10).

Conceptual Frame

Students and teachers apart from being influenced by one another, are influenced in their interactions, in turn, by the factors surrounding it, as shown in the diagram. The surrounding factors, apart from being influenced by one another, influence, by turn, students and teachers in their interactions ; for all are human beings acting in different capacities but within a common physical frame. The relation patterns are expounded with an analytical diagram :

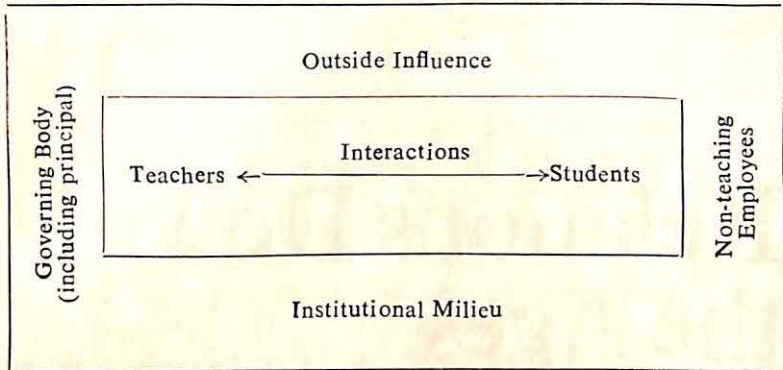


Diagram 2 : 1—Relation Patterns

Relations Down the Ages

I. ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

The teacher-student relationship was very close and cordial in the Rig-Vedic as well as in the latter Vedic times ; in the times of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana as well, and in the times of the Buddhist as well as the Muslim. The educational centres, particularly in the Vedic and the Buddhist times, were residential and both the teacher and the taught lived together to teach and to learn mainly Vedas in the Hindu centres, Buddhism in the Buddhist centres and the Koran in the Muslim centres of learning. This living together of students and teachers contributed most to the closeness of relation between them.

Hindu System of Education

In the Vedic times, as also in the times of the Epics, students used to come to teachers' home to reside with them as members of their families for a number of years to learn Veda and other subjects in return for their service to the teacher. Relationship existing between teacher and student was claimed to be like that existing between father and son. After the upanayan, teacher became the spiritual or intellectual father while the student attained second birth and was called 'dwija' or twice-born.

Under the Hindu teachers, mostly Brahmins, curriculum included not only the study of the Vedas and other subjects but also moral and physical education. Utmost importance, on building character, was given and this necessitated the constant guidance of the teacher. The personal touch of the teacher was very important. "Unless the acharya took a real paternal interest in his pupil, he would not be able to wield a deep moral influence upon him ; and, therefore, to that extent he would also be unable to mould his character properly" (Prabhu : 1961, 118). The building of a 'man' out of a student required the human factor and students found this in the person of the teacher. The personal life of the teacher was more educative than anything else. Students found or expected to find in the teacher an ideal man, whom they could emulate to their maximum benefit. "Direct, personal and continuous contact with a teacher of noble character naturally produces great effect on the mind of the scholar during the pliable period of childhood and adolescence" (Altekar : 1948, 32). This personal touch of the teacher dominated the whole of Bhahmanical education of the Gurukula systems in the Vedic and latter times.

It was not only the moral side of life but also the intellectual side of students that received sufficient attention of the educators. ".....the teacher's duty under the Hindu system of education was to help to cultivate the moral culture of his pupil along with his intellectual culture" (Prabhu : 1961, 129).

What distinguished the ancient Hindu system of education from other systems was its individual, and not collective, attention to students. Under this system, centres of education were single-teacher institutions where singleness of the number of teacher per institution limited the number of students, and this ensured closer relation between teacher and student. "The pupil belongs to the teacher and not to an institution" (Mookherjee : 1960, XXVII).

In the Upanishads also, one comes across a close and cordial relationship of teacher with students. Special mention may be made of the Kena and the Katha Upanishads. The first two parts of the Kena Upanishad are in the form of a dialogue and discussion between teacher and student. Here the

student was allowed to ask as many questions as he liked until he was satisfied.

The same tradition of close and cordial teacher-student relationship was found in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. One finds in the Mahabharata an intimate relationship between Dronacharya and the Kaurav Princes and between Parsuram and Karna, in the Ramayana, between Viswamitra and sons of King Dasharatha, and in the Raghuvansa, between Vasistha and his pupils.

Buddhist System

Also, under the Buddhist system of education, profoundly influenced by the Hindu system, one finds more or less the same close teacher-student relationship, though in changed situation. The relationship, here, was not as intimate as under the Hindu system, principally because of the institutional difference. The Hindu centres of education were single-teacher institutions which greatly limited the number of students while, under the Buddhist system, centres of education were of corporate nature, including many teachers and many students in each centre called Vihar or Monastery.

Nonetheless, the relationship here was close and cordial because the method of teaching was mostly tutorial followed by discussion and even lectures for students failing to understand the lecture. "The old and the young mutually help one another", said Hiuen Tsiang (Quoted in Sankalia : 1972, 171). Hiuen Tsiang himself learnt Yogasutra from Silabhadra, and many other works from other teachers of repute including Jaya Sena, in the same manner.

Further support may be had, to corroborate the fact that there was personal relationship between student and teacher, from what Sankalia has to say : "Even these lectures very often took the shape of personal discussion between the teacher and the student who could not follow the lecture or had some doubts regarding some topics in the lecture" (Ibid : 172).

Muslim System

The teacher-student relationship under the Muslim system of education, built upon demolishing the Hindu and Buddhist

seats of learning, was also intimate. "The monitorial system" in which more advanced students were associated with teachers in the work of teaching, was a special feature of Indian education and it was in use in Muslim as well as in Hindu centres of learning (Keay : 1954, 110).

Setback

But, gradually, the intimate relationship of the teacher with the student, as was found in the Vedic times and latter, received a setback because of the increasingly felt need of accommodating a greater number of students with the passage of time and the emergence of new socio-economic conditions.

Regular Institutions : In the Vedic times and still later, number of students was very small and the number of teachers, quite naturally, much smaller. The smallness of number of students in the Vedic times and later might be attributed, inter alia, to caste, illiteracy among the parents, poverty, small population and so forth. Sons of only the upper three castes were admitted for education. Sudras were excluded. But as time passed, conditions turned favourable to the spread of education among the people and the Gurukul systems comparable to modern colleges, and the Parishads composed of eminent teachers or learned Brahmins, comparable to modern universities, yielded places to regular institutions, very clearly in evidence, in the Buddhist times and latter (Basu : 1944, 2-3). And such regular institutions as the universities of Takshashila in ancient India, Nalanda, Banaras, Ballavi and Vikramshila in the medieval India, appeared.

The famous Panini, Jeevaka, the renowned court physician of Bimbisara, were students of Takshashila. There is a tradition connecting Kautilya with this university. Nalanda, the greatest university of the medieval world, had at its height of glory, one thousand teachers and ten thousand students. Dharmapala, Dipankara, Jinamitra, Shilabhadra, Prabhakaramati and others, some of the most famous scholars, were connected with the Nalanda University. Vikramshila is said to have included one hundred and seven temples and six colleges.

Institutional arrangements for imparting education were in evidence also under the Muslim system of education. Muktab.

lower seats of learning, attached to mosques, and Madrasaha higher seats of learning, often attached to mosques, were found to exist catering to the needs of education and learning.

Firoz Tughluq's madrasah, a magnificent building, covering an extensive area and having many lecture rooms, was established in 1352. There were a mosque and some hostels attached to it with quarters for the Immams and other servants of the mosque. There were many teachers of repute including Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi, its principal (Srivastava: 1964, 101).

It is conceivable that, under the above institutional arrangements, the close teacher-student relationship as envisaged under the Brahminal system of education in Vedic times and still later, was not gradually possible because of the need—in accommodating greater number of students—of meeting the new conditions of life and time.

Yet, it must be admitted that the ancient Indian ideal of intimate student-teacher relationship did not lose its significance and value. In spite of the enlargement of the educational institutions, efforts were constantly made to practise and propagate the ideal of teacher-student relationship as it was deemed to be the most important condition of teaching and learning.

Practice

Now the question as to how far the teacher-student relationship was close and cordial not in theory but in practice may be dealt with.

It is admittedly true that the intimate teacher-student relationship was an ideal particularly in the Hindu centres of education since the earliest Vedic times until the British take-over of them in the early 19th century with the Minute of Macaulay being approved by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General. "One of the most characteristic of Indian educational ideals is the relation between pupil and teacher". (Keay : 1954, 190). It was the ideal. How far was it carried into practice ?

Rules of Respect : If one judges the relationship from the points of view of students particularly in the background of the rules of respect due to the teacher from the student, one

may envisage a clear tilt in the relationship towards the teacher. It was a relationship prominently marked by super-ordination and sub-ordination.

A brief reference may be made to the rules of respect due from students to teachers to substantiate the point. "There are rules regulating the behaviour of the student towards his teacher. He must always obey his teacher except when ordered to commit crimes which cause loss of caste. He must not contradict him. He must occupy a couch or seat lower than that of his teacher. When he meets his teacher after sunrise (coming for his lessons), he shall embrace his feet, and shall study, after having been called by the teacher, and not request the teacher to begin the lesson.....He must approach his teacher with the same reverence as a deity" (Mookherjee : 1960. 188).

He was also required to beg alms daily for himself and his teacher, tend teacher's cattle, sweep the floor of the teacher or the place of sacred fire, massage the body of the teacher and a number of other similar duties to please the teacher.

It is said that, in the times of the Epics, a student maintaining himself on the proceeds of his begging and not depending on the teacher was commended. He was also urged to perform all the duties desired by the teacher even at the cost of his life. This devotion should also be observed towards wife, son and other relatives of the teacher.

God and Mortal : Reflections over the above three passages may make it abundantly clear that the relationship between student and teacher resembled that between gods and ordinary human beings and surely not that between man and man or what is called human relationship. Here teacher was worshiped like a god. "The idea of the relationship of pupil to teacher has indeed been some times so developed that it has led to the teacher, or guru, receiving divine honours from his pupil" (Keay : 1954, 190-191).

How could there be a very close and cordial teacher-student relationship when the teacher was treated to be a god and the student to be an ordinary mortal, when the teacher was always to order and the student was always to carry out the orders unquestioningly ? It was a relationship marked by inordinate respect and obedience to the teacher by the student and an excessive regulation of the student by the teacher.

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It is much clear that teachers — the Hindu teachers in particular — were authoritarian in their relation to students because of a number of causes degrading much down the position of the student and exalting much high the position of the teacher. The causes may be enumerated and elaborated.

1. In the general absence of any cash-nexus between the teacher and the student, the custom requiring students to reside with the teacher at his home for years together generated in the minds of students a feeling of excessive indebtedness towards the teacher.
2. Consciousness of this fact led teachers to more and more regulation of students and, in the process, becoming more and more authoritarian in their relation to students.
3. Teachers might be averse to inculcating a sense of self-respect in the minds of students probably fearing that, it might act as boomerang. It appeared to be a conscious attempt to perpetuate their authority upon students. Students were made aware of their duties and seldom of their rights.
4. Teachers were deemed to be the go-between, between gods and men called students. This boosted up the position of the teacher and degraded that of the student further down.
5. Vedas were regarded to be the repository of all knowledge and teachers alone were thought to be able and fit to interpret and communicate the Vedas to the ordinary people including students. No individual and original thinking seemed to be encouraged. Everything had to be justified with reference to the Vedas thought to be the root of all knowledge. Any one doubting the authenticity of the Vedas was dubbed nihilists or atheists (Chaudhury : 1967, 46-49).
6. The oral method of teaching, then in vogue, gave the teachers "a monopoly of the book deliberately kept unwritten" (Kosambi : 1975, 86-87) as "education was entirely under the control of the priestly class" (Apte : 1965, 520). It gave the teacher "a matchless prestige among the people. . . . Briefly, it made them [the

Bhahmins] into a class and a powerful one who influenced later Indian history (Kosambi : op. cit). "... it became the monopoly of a special class of persons who could exclude and include others in this class quite arbitrarily (Chaudhury : op. cit.).

7. As is already referred to above, there was no cash-nexus between the teacher and the student. But this does not mean that teachers were economically poor. Force of the custom was such that everyone, on completing his studies, had to make presents to the teacher according to his ability. These presents ranged from vegetables or umbrella to fields, cattle, gold and other costly things. Majority of students were poor and naturally they could not make costly presents. But these students had to work hard at the teacher's home in begging alms, tending cattle, massaging teacher's body or even sweeping the floors. They worked all day and received instructions from their teacher at the evening. But the rich students—sons of royal families, merchants and other rich people—often paid the whole of their charges in advance² and were given preferential treatment in so far as they were not required to beg or tend the cattle or do other menial chores for the teacher. Teachers received much costly presents from those rich boys and were thus able to have their positions further elevated. This did play no small a part in raising the status of the teacher vis-a-vis student particularly the poor ones.
8. The deep entrenched feeling of caste of the Hindu teachers always debarred the sudras from the portals of the temples of learning. The theory of caste was broadly based on the fragmentation of the humanity into different graded categories of people—some placed high and some low in the society. It was one way of heightening the position of the Bahamins (who monopolised the number of teachers) in relation to the students and the non-Bhahmin people.

Thus, the past is not that rosy as it is usually painted to be. It is human frailty that men, out of their excessive respect (bordering on blind respect) to the past, regard every-

thing in the past as good and ideal while turning blind eyes to its faults. "Among the many myths that afflict contemporary thinking...none is more persistent than the one that maintains that in the good old days.....faculty and students had intimate personal contacts..." It is "perhaps the human tendency to assume that if things are presently bad, they were once better" (Jencks and Riesman : 1972, 35).

Teacher and Student : Good and Bad

It is not denied that there were eminent and ideal teachers (Sarmah : 1978, 109-122) with profound scholarship, and integrity, love for their students as sons and benevolence for the people as a whole. There were also good and bright students. Relationship between such teachers and student will always serve as an illuminating example for the teacher and the student down the ages of Indian history. But this was not all. There was another side which was much dark and disappointing. There were also many unworthy teachers some of whom even lacked in character and integrity. There were unworthy students as well. Relationship between such teachers and students can be better imagined than described.

"Unworthy pupils and teachers were not unknown. Some pupils found study too painful and difficult and abstained. Sometimes, the rough manners of a teacher might also repel them" (Mookherjee : 1960, 236-237). It is also confirmed by the same author that "there was not always the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and deviations from the ideal were common or general that specific epithets were evolved" (Ibid.).

A historian gives us a stunning information when he says that "the Vedic teachers were not above the charms of wealth" and also "the temptations of the fair sex" (Sarkar : 1979 ; 30-31). There is a considerable amount of evidence in both the Vedic and the Epic-Puranic literature of their uncontrolled sex relations which reacted on their wives and students.

Comparison

In spite of the fact that Buddhist rules of respect (Ghoshal : 1965, 584-585) due from students to teachers were

almost identical with the Hindu rules of respect due from students to teachers, the Buddhist teachers were found to be much less authoritarian and avid than the Hindu teachers in so far as :

1. Both the Buddhist teachers and students lived in monasteries away from their homes while the Hindu teachers lived in their own homes and often with their families but the Hindu students had to live at the homes of their teachers.
2. Both of them (Buddhist teachers and students) got out together for begging alms but the Hindu teacher is never heard of going out for alms, alone or with students, but Hindu student had to beg to provide for his own food, etc., as well as to help his teachers.
3. The Buddhist teachers had no material property of their own while the Hindu teachers had material property of their own—their homes, cattle, fields, gold, etc.
4. Buddhist students were under no obligation to make presents to their teachers on completion of their studies while Hindu students were required by custom (an unwritten law) to make presents to their teachers to please them according to their abilities. Presents often happened to be very costly, specially when given by sons of kings, merchants and other rich people ; and
5. Buddhist teachers were not inhibited by any caste feelings while the Hindu teachers were inhibited by feelings of caste and creed.

Strength of the Hindu System

The Hindu system of education was more rigid and viable than the Buddhist system. The Hindu system survived the Muslim invasion and regained its past glory to a large extent while the Buddhist system disappeared from India following the invasion. The Hindu system is much more pervasive and permanent than the Buddhist or the Muslim system of education in its influence upon the educational centres, particularly on their teachers, up to the present time.

The Muslim teachers at Muktabs, lower seats of learning, and at Madrasahs, higher seats of learning, could not be as assertive as their Hindu counterparts because of two principal reasons :

1. Maulavis at the lower seats of learning were very much dependent upon the families whose children they taught, and
2. Ulamas at the higher seats of learning were also much controlled by the state (Srivastava : 1964, 102).

II. BRITISH TIMES

The type of student-teacher relationship found in ancient and medieval India was not found in British India. The period was predominantly marked by an obnoxious relation obtaining between the Europeans and the Indians—a ruler-ruled relation. Indians were to obey and Europeans to order. The colonial character was very much manifest, in every walk of life. Educational sphere could not remain free from the long arms of the colonial octopus.

Race

Indian teachers were not at all much honoured people in the Indian educational centres, high or low. It was the European teacher who counted and was much respected not because he was a scholar but because he was European or English. Indian teachers, though many of them famous scholars, were always at bay because they were Indians or 'natives'. Racial difference was the spring-board of all discriminations. The Europeans were always supposed to be superior to Indians.

Gokhale wrote a paper for an Inter-racial Problems Conference, in which he said, *inter alia*, "This attitude, this ruling race idea, prevented an appreciation of the capacity or claims of the Indian people. There was no inclination to recognise any form of equality or even near equality" (Quoted in Sinha : 1966, 142-143).

An Encounter : In 1887, Sir Charles Croft, Director of Public Instruction, liked to see Asutosh Mookherjee, the

"promising young mathematician about whom he had heard so much" (Sinha : 1966, 8). They met and talked for a long time. Sir Charles Croft was satisfied and offered Asutosh Mookherjee an appointment in the Presidency College. But Asutosh Mookherjee insisted on honourable term—"the same status and pay as European members of the Education Service (Ibid.). Croft was very much surprised and said : "how could he expect the status and pay of European members of the Education Service ? It was an impossible demand" (Ibid : 9).

"Those were the days of racial exclusiveness and administrative partiality when the best of Indians trained in Europe and recruited to the Educational Service, were always placed below the third-rate crass Englishman or Scotchman even from Edinburgh, or Dundu or Aberdeen, not to mention Cambridge or Oxford and London in the Service Cadre, and these first-rate men got two-thirds of the salary of the average European, for no other fault than that of colour" (Banerjee : 1974, 39).

Bose and Ray : Mention may be made of Sir J.C. Bose in Physics and P.C. Ray in Chemistry of Presidency College, Calcutta, "giants of those days" working "under great odds in the teeth of manipulated obstruction by the European members of the Educational Department who had the ears of the Lieutenant-Governor and his entourage" (Ibid.).

The vicious discrimination between teachers, under the British rule, most adversely affected students in their relation to their teachers. They were not trained or taught to honour teacher as teacher. The prejudice of race was inculcated into their young minds. They too were expected to honour the European teachers more than the Indian teachers because of the supposed racial or status difference.

Teacher and Teacher : While writing about the relationship between teacher and teacher at the Fort William College, "for the better education of the Junior Civil Servants of the East India Company", Sisir Kumar Das said : "The European teachers controlled the policy and the Indian teachers obeyed the orders. The British teachers in the college were not only inferior to their European counterparts, they were also inferior to their Indian colleagues, in respect fo

their knowledge of Indian languages. And yet the Indian scholars were not treated at par with the European scholars. That created a silent tension in the academic life of the college of Fort William. The relation between the European and the Indian teacher was not based on academic terms : they were not teachers belonging to two different establishments but they belonged to two categories, those of Sabibs and of Munshis. The munshis did their work well for which they were paid and often rewarded but they failed to be creative even when they had the power (Das : 1978. 106).

Attitudes of Indian Students

The Indian students, geared up under such a background, could not be generally respectful to the teacher but they had to maintain a facade of respect to them because of the fear complex of punishment and the prevailing subject like attitudes to the masters. The European teachers, in general, had no genuine love or sympathy for the Indian students, and the Indian students were aware of it. They were brought up in an atmosphere of neglect and indignity. Their consciousness of being treated as subjects or natives hindered them from being spontaneous in the flow of their heart-felt respect towards their teachers—European teachers in particular.

Under the English system of education the Indian students were gradually losing their Indianness—they were being initiated in an alien culture. This fact might have alienated them from the Indian masses and also their Indian teachers but did not bring them close to the European people and teachers. There was always a distance between teachers and students this way or that way.

Students were conscious that their future was not bright for they were being trained to be clerks or to hold the lower rank of Civil Service, always to assist the European masters to rule the country—their own country. Schools or colleges were mere factories for producing “a loyal second level of leadership of India”.

One of the basic aims of education, under the English rule was to raise, out of Indians, a “class of men”, in the words of Macaulay, “Indian in blood and colour, but English in

tastes, in opinion, in morals and intellect" (Quoted in Parikh : 1959, 121). The whole British scheme of education was an exercise in mentally preparing the Indians to accept the British rule for ages. How could the student be wholeheartedly respectful to teachers who were playing important roles in perpetuating the British cultural imperialism.

It was the educational or cultural exploitation that largely motivated the Indian students to plunge in the Independence Movement and to play the leading roles in achieving independence.

Situation on the Campus

The Britishers were rude and offensive everywhere (Podar : 1977, 2) wherever they came in contact with the Indians, from the streets to the campus and law was of no avail to Indians. "The situation would be aggravated if any Britishers on the college staff were rude or offensive to us", in the words of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, "unfortunately such instances were not rare. Before my time on several occasions English professors had been thrashed by the students. These stories were carefully chronicled and handed down from generation to generation. During my first year in college I had some personal experiences of them but they were not of a serious nature, though these were enough to stir up bitterness (Gopal : 1978, 53-54).

As is well known, in January 1916, Oaten, Professor of English, Presidency College, Calcutta, "manhandled some students" and it was followed by a successful general strike of all students with the principal having failed to take necessary steps against the professor. The matter did not end there. About a month later, the same professor was again involved in manhandling another student. The repeated insults to the Indian students by the same professor infuriated students and, knowing for certain that principal would not punish the professor, they beat the professor "black and blue".

College was closed and enquiry committee was set up presided over by Sir Asutosh Mookherjee, former Vice-Chancellor and Judge of the High Court. Subhas Chandra Bose was one of those representing the students' case. He

was asked whether he considered the assault on Oaten justified. "My reply was that", in the words of Bose, "though the assault was not justified, the students had acted under great provocation. And I then proceeded to narrate seriatim the misdeeds of the Britishers in Presidency College during the last few years" (Ibid.).

The Indian students' violent reactions to the offensive behaviour of their European teachers give one enough to estimate the surging hostile mentality of the Indian students towards the European teachers who almost hated the Indian students.

Images of Indian Teachers

Indian teachers were under a heavy load of rules and regulations (Shils : 1974, 214). They could seldom assert themselves. Their images suffered a further diminution when they failed to take part in the Swadeshi or Independence Movement under fear of punishment.

They also suffered from social isolation. European intellectuals or educated persons seldom associated themselves with their Indian counterparts. Educated Indians were few and they were hardly "considered fit to conduct English schools or colleges". Schools or colleges were headed by Europeans. Until 1882 education in British India was meant for the rich, city-based westernised Indians. Thus there were deliberate efforts not to build up respectful images of Indian teachers.

In general, student-teacher relationship was not warm. European teachers could not love the Indian students while the European students could not respect the Indian teachers. Relation of students with their teachers of Presidency College and Fort William College, respectively well illustrates it.

"The relation between students and Munshis [Indian teachers] was also partly determined by this tension [tension as referred to above, between European and Indian teachers]. Students, at least many of them, hardly had any respect for these Munshis and quite a few of them misbehaved with them. (Das : 1978, 107).

At least three instances (Ibid., 107-109) may be cited where students of Fort William College insulted and even

beat their Indian teachers on flimsy grounds and when the insulted teachers prayed for justice, students' offensive behaviour was only condemned without any punishment in the form of expulsion, etc. :

1. In 1806, English, a student, chastised Munshi Nazarullah with a horse-whip after forcibly taking away the chair on which the teacher was seated.
2. In 1810, Ananda Chandra Sharma, a Munshi in Sanskrit-Bengali establishment, was beaten by a student called Kennedy for allegedly being unable to give a meaning of a word. In fact, the meaning given by the teacher did not conform to the wrong meaning given in Foster's dictionary.
3. In the following year, Munshi Gholam Husen was struck on the shoulder with a whip by a student named Collins because the student was vexed by the long and tedious explanation given by the teacher. In a statement Collins wrote "he was not aware that these people [Indian teachers] were entitled to be considered as gentlemen" (Ibid., 109).

Respected European Teachers

It has to be noted in this connection that all the European teachers were not haughty and arrogant. There were a few European teachers whom the Indian students respected and relation with them and their students was harmonious.

Reference may be made to Mc Cann, one of the teachers of Mathematics in Presidency College, who died in June, 1884. Asutosh Mookherjee, with the help of his fellow students, collected sufficient funds which enabled the Memorial Committee to put up a tablet in the college library in honour of his memory and handed over to the university the balance of collection which was sufficient for the award of an annual medal in his name to the graduate of the Presidency College who would obtain the highest marks in the University B.A. Examination in Mathematics. It was a sufficient evidence of students' respect to the teacher and teacher's love for students.

It may be illuminating to cite another example in which a student (and then colleague) had appreciated the love of his

European teacher for the Indian students including himself. Professor H.M. Percival had a soft corner for Nripendra Chandra Banerjee. It was on Professor Percival's recommendations that Banerjee was appointed a teacher in Presidency College soon after his passing M.A. from the same college. "It was his recommendation that, of course, had put me there, but my revered professor was never demonstrative, and had had a heart of gold" (Banerjee : 1974, 71).

Even Netaji Bose had high praise for Professor H.R. James, then Principal of the Presidency College, and was found much helpless in the 'Oaten Affair'.

But the number of such teachers as referred to above was small, to small too stem the general tide of haughty, arrogant and authoritarian attitudes of teachers—European teachers. Indian students under the rude and offensive European teacher could not naturally feel satisfied. Their discontents were smouldering under a cover. They could not respect teachers because of the teachers' discriminatory and discourteous behaviour. Yet they had to maintain a show of respect because of the prevailing conditions of society and state.

The long-continued exploitation of students found expression in the Indian Independence Movements dragged on from 1905 to 1946. After Independence was won, they had to revert to the classes but much more conscious of their power, rights, duties and self-prestige than ever before.

III. LATTER TIMES

In the post-Independent India, teacher-student relationship started on a new plane—without any racially superior people dominating or dictating a racially inferior people. Nonetheless, there was no basic change to the tone of relationship because there was no new set of values emerging, immediately after Independence. Values ingrained in the Indians under the Europeans for more than a century still began to work and affect the attitudes of teachers towards their students. The authoritarian and conservative outlooks of teachers continued. They were not immediately aware that they were

dealing with the changed students—students who had successfully battled against the Britishers in winning freedom for them and their country, that present students were much more conscious of their power, self-respect, rights and duties, that they should not be dealt with in the same manner as they were dealt with by the European teachers, in the changed perspective and, to deal with them in the same way would prove perilious.

Present Background

But this happened. Students soon started reacting, sometimes violently, against their teachers and the whole educational authority. In a foreword, dated 28th August, 1954 to Humayun Kabir's book, *Student Unrest—Causes and Cure*, Jawahar Lal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of the Indian Republic, cautioned the people concerned against the student indiscipline while narrating a few ugly incidents including those in which teachers, invigilators and others were humiliated and even beaten by students. Student-indiscipline thus started from as early as 1952-53 in Independent India. It assumed alarming proportions in the subsequent years.

The imperial power left India in 1947 but the imperial temperament used to obedience and compliance continued to rule educational centres. Teachers used to unquestioning obedience during the British period expected the same conduct from their students even after the end of the British era in India. It encouraged conformity to the views of teachers and discouraged independent thinking.

Students' expectation of sympathetic and human behaviour from their teachers in Independent India suffered a rude shock. And this again led them to treat their Indian teachers as much in the same way as they treated their European teachers before Independence.

What is clear is that teachers changed—from Europeans into Indians—but the treatments that students received at the hands of teachers before and after Independence continued to remain more or less the same.

NOTES

- (1) Usual period of study was twelve years but it could exceed the usual time-length depending on the intention of the student. After student life, one is expected to enter the next stage of life, e.g. life of a householder but there might be cases where students were found unwilling to enter the life of a householder. In those cases, they might continue their student life for an indefinite period.
- (2) There is a Jatak story to the effect that King Brahmadata of Banaras sent his son Prince Brahmadata to Takshashila with, among other things, a thousand pieces of money for the teacher as fee to be paid in advance. The teacher accepted the fee in advance and taught him with due care (Mookherjee : 1965, 592).

Teachers vis-a-vis Students

So long the perspective of teacher-student relationship from the Vedic times down to the late twentieth century has been portrayed. Under the given perspective, the author likes now to proceed to deal empirically with the teacher-student relationship at the under-graduate college level for the given academic year within the geographical periphery of North Bengal.

Meeting Ground

A teacher is adjudged good or bad in view of his total behaviour in relation to his students and others—behaviour as a teacher or teaching behaviour including teaching capabilities and behaviour as a person or personal behaviour including moral responsibility and moral integrity.

The first meeting ground between a teacher and his students is usually the class room where a teacher is able to know his students at least by their faces and students are able to know their teacher at least by his teaching. It is here that a teacher and his students meet day after day and knowing of each other—knowing a teacher in many respects by students and knowing students by a teacher in many respects—widens if not completes.

Again, in the class room students, particularly the serious ones, observe the teacher from different angles of view and

gradually form their opinions about the teacher. Teacher too is able, by degrees to know many of his students in terms of their merit and otherwise. A teacher, however, careful does not succeed in concealing all of his nature. He often comes out in his real nature in course of his exchange in the class room with his students. Students readily grasp it and try to test their views about the teacher. The class room activities of a teacher—his behaviour, teaching abilities, his indifference to, or interest for, studies and students—are found to play an important role in forming an image of him in the minds of students.

Some 270 students from the sample colleges are asked whether class room activities of a teacher are important in forming an image of him in the minds of students, 86.7 per cent of the students have answered in the affirmative. The responses are shown in Table 4 : 1.

Table—4 : 1

Attitudes of students towards the class room activities of a teacher :
Whether the class room activities of a teacher are important in forming an image of the teacher in the minds of students

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
234 (86.7)	36 (13.3)	—	270 (100.0)

It is observed that students, even the poor ones, estimate very correctly who of the teachers are trying to befool them—that is, who are not properly dealing with the subject yet trying to maintain the posture of doing the thing rightly.

In order to hold full attention of students to the subject being taught, a teacher is required sincerely to endeavour to prepare himself mentally and in matters of his subject, and this endeavour includes, *inter alia*, research. Research and teaching are complementary. "Research fertilises teaching, gives an insight, increases sensitivity and perfection and provides greater capacities to be imaginative and morally aware of various issues and concepts. It refreshes a teacher to meet new intellectual challenges and prevents him from becoming stagnant and complacent" (Gandhi : 1977, 100).

Every teacher runs the obligation of extending the horizons of his subject as much as those of his students' minds and this makes it imperative for a teacher to be engaged in research. "Teachers cannot remain stimulating unless they also continue to learn...When a teacher stops doing it, he begins to repeat himself and eventually loses touch with both the young and the world around him" (Jencks and Riesman : 1972, 532). Research by a teacher may encourage research by a student—at least a research mentality is most likely to be inculcated into students.

But, in practice, it is found that only 30.0 per cent of the teachers are engaged in research though 66.0 per cent of them concede that research and teaching are complementary. Responses are presented in Tables 4 : 2 and 4 : 3, respectively.

Table—4 : 2
Attitudes of teachers towards research : Whether they are engaged in it

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
30 (30.0)	70 (70.0)	—	100 (100.0)

Table—4 : 3
Attitudes of teachers towards research and teaching : Whether research and teaching are complementary

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
66 (66.0)	34 (34.0)	—	100 (100.0)

Students expect, in addition, that a teacher when teaching a subject needs be sympathetic and alive to the needs of students. A sympathetic and responsive teacher wins the admiration and respect from students. Table 4 : 4 shows that 91.1 per cent of students are respectful to such a teacher.

Table—4 : 4
Attitudes of students towards a teacher who is excellent in class room performance and kind to students : Whether students are respectful to such a teacher

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
246 (91.1)	24 (8.9)	—	270 (100.0)

As already referred to, a sympathetic and responsive teacher wins the admiration and respect from students. But such teachers are still very few. Table 4 : 5 shows that 11.9 per cent of the sample students find none sympathetic, that 10.4 per cent find one sympathetic, that 11.1 per cent find two sympathetic, that 44.4 per cent find few sympathetic and 22.2 per cent find many of their teachers sympathetic.

Table—4 : 5
Students' views : Whether they find their teachers sympathetic to them

None	One	Two	Few	Many	No Reply	Total
32 (11.9)	28 (10.4)	30 (11.1)	120 (44.4)	60 (22.2)	—	270 (100.0)

Now the question to be dealt with is whether sympathy alone can draw a student to a teacher. Students do not feel drawn to a teacher who is only sympathetic but unable to satisfy the intellectual curiosities of his students. Sympathy is no substitute for good teaching. "What any...decent... student looks for in a teacher is scholarship, and not personal solicitude for his welfare. Counselling and other welfare-works are all right if you can afford them, but they are not a substitute for learning" (John : 1971, 232). As is already clear from Table 4 : 4, sympathy as well as good teaching are necessary. An overdose of sympathy in an incapable teacher may be construed as his weakness and even as a trick to cover up his teaching deficiency. It is found that students are even prepared to tolerate authoritarian streaks in the nature of a teacher provided he is able to satisfy his students by his teaching.

Table 4 : 6 shows that 31.9 per cent affirmative, 65.9 per cent negative replies while 2.2 per cent no-replies have been made by students to the question whether they like a worse-performing unscholastic but kind teacher.

Table—4 : 6
Students' views : Whether they like a worse-performing unscholastic but kind teacher

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
86 (31.9)	176 (65.9)	6 (2.2)	270 (100.0)

Table 4 : 7 shows that 56.6 per cent affirmative and 38.5 per cent negative replies while 2.9 per cent no-replies have been made by students to the question whether they like a well-performing scholastic but authoritarian teacher.

Table—4 : 7
Students' views : Whether they like a well-performing scholastic but authoritarian teacher

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
158 (58.6)	104 (38.5)	8 (2.9)	270 (100.0)

A good teacher but not a good man is disliked by students. A good man but a bad teacher is not liked either. A good teacher as well as a good man is liked and respected by students. To be a good teacher a teacher also requires to be a good man if his teaching is to leave a permanent impact upon his students. With this end in view, he is to be a teacher more by heart than by profession. Mental qualifications of a teacher have to be given precedence over his educational qualifications. Educational qualifications are essential but mental qualifications (the inherent qualifications of a good man) are found to be more essential, taking in view the present day situations, Table 4 : 8 makes it clear. It shows that 84.0 per cent of teachers support and 9.0 per cent oppose the view. Whereas 6.0 per cent of the teachers hold that both the qualifications are equally important and 1.0 per cent give no-reply.

Table—4 : 8
Teachers' view : Whether mental qualifications of a teacher are more important than his educational qualifications

Yes	No	Both	No Reply	Total
84.0 (84.0)	9 (9.0)	6 (6.0)	1 (1.0)	100 (100.0)

But the expectations, in practice, are found to have failed. Many of the teachers are reported to have failed to satisfy their students with their teaching and personal behaviours

inside or outside the class room. Some teachers are often absent without the students concerned being informed. Many are alleged to do their allotted duties half-heartedly. All these badly affect students' esteem for their teachers. They hold low opinion about their teachers. And relation between such teachers and the affected students is anything but good.

Table 4 : 9 makes it evident that students remain discontent with their teachers. Of the respondents, 10.4 per cent find none, 3.7 per cent find one, 15.5 per cent find two, 51.1 per cent find few and 19.3 per cent find many of their teachers able to satisfy them (by their total behaviours including teaching and personal behaviours).

Table—4 : 9

Attitudes of students towards their teachers : Whether teachers are able to satisfy their students (by their total behaviours including teaching and personal behaviours)

None	One	Two	Few	Many	No Reply	Total
28 (10.4)	10 (3.7)	42 (15.5)	138 (51.1)	52 (19.3)	—	270 (100.0)

Analysis of the perfunctory behaviours of teachers clearly bring out two facts :

1. Teachers, so far their behaviours are concerned, fail to recognise that students too are honourable persons fit to hear decent words from their teachers, and that,
2. They fail to encourage questioning aptitudes among their students.

Private Tuition

Private tuition for money plays a major role in fraying the tempers of teachers who indulge in it. Many teachers enter class room private tuition-tired. A good many hours of their day and night is spent on tutoring students, privately for money. When such teachers come to class room they are mostly found reluctant to exert themselves to the desired extent to satisfy students by teaching the subject for which the class is meant. Students not-tutored by the teacher remain dissatisfied more than others.

Students privately tutored by a teacher for money are alleged to be given preferential treatment by the teacher concerned, and such preferential treatments lead to tension in the minds of students not tutored by the teacher. Students tutored by different teachers are found to be divided into opposing groups and develop a peculiar yet subtle tension between themselves.

Meritorious but financially poor students are found to be the worst sufferers in the competitive private tuition market. Such students fail to afford private tuition and consequently fail to score the marks, other much less brilliant but financially rich students, score on the strength of private tuition. "Even the first class holders do not actually deserve first class but for the private tuition. Those who deserve it do not have it for they do not have the proper attention in the class", remarks a teacher. Private tuition and other monetary pursuits by teachers prove to be the stumbling blocks on the way to good teaching.

A good many teachers have come down in the competition with others from other professions—competition for earning more and more money. Busy with earning more and more money, teachers are not in a position to do justice to the profession they belong to. They are bound to neglect their duties towards the general students. The result is soon felt by students in that the covering of syllabi remains incomplete. As they fail to have their allotted classes largely because of their neglect, students suffer.

It may be pointed out that private tuition alone is not the deterring factor. There are still many teachers who do not attend private tuition. Their time is spent in politics, in doing household chores, coaching their own children and finally their idle nature kills a major portion of their time. And they are found not easy of access to, and willing to spend their time on, students for no gains. Table 4:10 makes it explicit. Of the respondents, 18.5 per cent find none, 10.4 per cent find one, 17.8 per cent find two, 40.0 per cent find few, 11.9 per cent find many of their teachers easy of access and willing to spend their time on students in matters of their studies etc. and 1.4 per cent have given no-replies.

Table—4 : 10

Students' views : Whether they find their teachers easy of access and willing to spend their time on students in matters of their studies, etc.

None	One	Two	Few	Many	No reply	Total
50 (18.5)	28 (10.4)	48 (17.8)	108 (40.0)	32 (11.9)	4 (1.4)	270 (100.0)

Whatever the causes, dereliction of duty by teachers is not questioned. Teachers may be grouped into several categories vis-a-vis their neglect of duties and the resulting incomplete covering of the syllabi :

1. Those who are regular in holding their classes and also eager to hold extra classes to cover the syllabi ;
2. Those who fail to hold their requisite classes and do not bother about taking extra classes; and
3. Those who fail to cover syllabi but announce the students that their syllabi are covered. Students are suggested a few "important" chapters or "questions" to read and that completes the covering of the syllabi.

Students stand disillusioned with their teachers in the background of their behaviours contrary to expectation and relation between students and such teachers fail to come to the expected level and misunderstanding between them follows. As mentioned early (Table 4 : 4), students are found to be respectful to teachers who are excellent in class room activities and kind to students. Such teachers are reported to be never insulted. Teachers insulted and ridiculed mostly lack good qualities including good teaching and sympathetic dealings with their students. It is a fact that in every college there are still a few teachers whom students respect profoundly and endeavour to follow their ideals in their lives. Table 4 : 11 demonstrates it. Relation between such teachers and their students is most desired one. Table 4 : 11 shows that, of the respondents 40.1 per cent find few, 2.2 per cent find many of their teachers fit to be emulated while 2.9 per cent give the no-replies.

Certain Constraints

Normal teacher-student relation inside a class room often suffers from some situational drawbacks. When a teacher finds.

Table—4 : 11

Students' views : Whether they find teachers (among their teachers) whom they like to emulate

None	One	Two	Few	Many	No Reply	Total
108 (40.1)	60 (22.2)	50 (18.5)	38 (14.1)	6 (2.2)	8 (2.9)	270 100.0)

the class room additionally crowded and noisy, he begins his class with a disgust and that affects his delivery or treatment of the subject. He may be easily annoyed and bitter situations may arise from either side. When the room is hot, dark, damp or otherwise inconvenient, minds of teachers or students may not act normally and a normal relation necessary for the healthy communication between a teacher and his students may be handicapped. Normal relation may further be handicapped when a teacher, while addressing a large crowd of students inside a class room, finds no dias or a raised platform under his feet to conveniently reach his voice to the assembled students and when he finds no blackboard or too small a blackboard or a dim one failing to bring clearly to the view what are written or drawn on it.

Honours classes are very helpful for bringing about a good understanding between students and teachers. Such classes offer small classes and this, in turn, makes for better communication between teachers and students. Idleness is generated in a teacher attending pass classes which require less exertion and tend to make him idle unless he is engaged in research and other serious studies, while attending honours classes duly requires much exertion on the part of a teacher and the mental inertia stands a good chance of slowly disappearing. It may also bring to life the dying thirst for knowledge or an intellectual excellence in a teacher. There are yet many subjects in which honours courses need be introduced and yet many colleges where not a subject has honours facilities.

Class room behaviour of students is also influenced when they find that :

1. Library¹ is closed because of shortage of library staff or other difficulties ;
2. They are not able to read at the library as reading room facilities are either not available or facilities so

meagre that only a handful of them can be accommodated in the reading rooms;

3. Many of the necessary books are borrowed by teachers and not returned even after months, and for students, there are only a few books left; and
4. They have to depend either on the sympathy of their teachers or the bizarre notebooks or books.

Students, as a consequence, feel discouraged to pursue vigorously their studies and the distance between teachers and students widens.

There are other causes which contribute no less to fraying their tempers. In many colleges, common room facilities are much inadequate. Common rooms are often found to be so stuffy that students feel disgusted to remain inside and they, mostly boys, roam about the corridors creating troubles to other students attending classes. "Such situation", remarks a teacher, "encourages boys to run after girls", where the institution is co-educational. Boys as well as girls run here and there by way of killing their time—off time. When they come back to classes, after roaming about for a good length of time, they still feel mentally restless and many fail to participate whole-heartedly in what is being taught or discussed by the class teacher.

Teachers do not feel free, neither in the class rooms nor in the staff rooms meant for teachers because of the crowded atmosphere. Even in the staff room a teacher fails to find himself. Between classes, he fails to rest and prepares at least mentally for the next class. Staff room is open to all. Students are frequenting. In such a situation bitterness from either is nothing unusual.

Students' deficiencies caused, somehow or the other, raise a mound of difference between teachers and students. When students are not enthusiastic about learning, teachers are not able to close the distance, however, they may try. The learning apathy among students has to be traced to the family or other backgrounds like lower educational levels—high school and primary school. A principal of a college has also confirmed these views.

II

Examination Hall

Next to the class room behaviour of teachers, the examination hall behaviour of teachers as invigilators may now be taken up. The invigilating teachers are found to be divided into different groups on the basis of their stand on dealing with the malpractice in the examination halls :

1. There are always a few teachers who are very serious about curbing the malpractice in the examination halls and they are often found to take leads in detecting examinees resorting to malpractice in the examination halls and getting them expelled.
2. There are, again, teachers who will never make an advance to detecting malpractice, on their own initiative, but are found to come to the help of the teachers detecting examinees adopting unfair means.
3. Also, there are teachers who, by their negligent attitudes, encourage examinees to adopt unfair means. Many invigilating teachers are found to indulge in gossips on the corridors at the cost of their duties inside the examination halls. "Mice will play if the cats are out", a helpless principal while passing along the same corridor makes a guarded warning to the defaulting invigilators. There are others busy reading newspapers and the like, inside the halls.

Such attitudes, on the part of the invigilators, encourage examinees to resort to malpractice in the examination halls and the serious of the students who dislike copying and adopting other unfair means are resentful to those negligent invigilators for they feel frustrated because they think their hard labour over the year is of no count.

As Table 4 : 12 shows, students (69.7 per cent) are of the opinion that negligence on the part of the invigilating teachers encourages examinees to adopt unfair means.

Table—4 : 12

Students' views : Whether malpractice in examination halls is encouraged by the negligence of the invigilating teachers

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
188 (69.7)	78 (28.9)	4 (1.4)	270 (100.0)

Students (80.7 per cent) are also of the view that if the invigilating teachers could put up united stand in curbing the malpractice in the examination halls, they might succeed to a large extent in eradicating the evil. The relevant responses are included in Table 4 : 13.

Table—4 : 13
Students' views : Whether malpractice in the examination halls can be curbed by the united stand of the invigilating teachers

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
218 (80.7)	48 (17.8)	4 (1.5)	270 (100.0)

As has already been alluded to, division among the invigilating teachers in matters of controlling the examinees adopting unfair means plus some physical conditions (like a college without boundary wall or some way or other, easy of access to the outsiders) favourable to the recalcitrant and dishonest examinees encourage them to resort to malpractice. Malpractice is still there though not in mass scale and will continue to be there so long as, among other reasons, teachers will remain divided in their approach to controlling malpractice in the examination halls.

Interviews with some of the teachers who were manhandled by students because of their strong attitudes of not allowing any of the examinees to resort to malpractice in the examination halls, bring out the following facts :

1. Disunity among the invigilating teachers in matters of curbing the malpractice in the examination halls is one of the most important causes of insults or assaults on teachers.
2. A few teachers, trying to stop the malpractice, are easily, more than others, singled out and threatened, by students, of the dire consequences and also sometimes beaten in order to make them fall in line with the rest of passive teachers.
3. If all the teachers were equally active and eager to stop the rot, the act of singling out might not be easy and their wrath might be defused and not centred on a few.

4. Further, it emerges from the interviews, that narrow personal concerns of some teachers provide fillip to the insults or assaults on teachers by students².
5. Teachers, these days, are very much obsessed with a sense of personal security and hardly dare to punish an examinee resorting to malpractice.

III

Watchful and Curious

Students are always watchful and inquisitive about their teachers. They do it more than teachers can do about students. Students are many in number and spread over a wide-area. So it is easy for them to watch their teachers as to what they are doing and how they are doing, here or there. They do not confine their eyes only to the class room or examination-hall behaviour of their teachers. They extend them much beyond and try to analyse the behaviour in the class room, examination hall or the campus and those displayed elsewhere, and, by degrees, concretise their views about their teachers. It is very difficult, as is already said, to conceal the real nature of a teacher from the knowledge of his students. They watch their teachers while passing along the corridors, talking to students, colleagues, non-teaching staff and others. They also watch their teachers in the teachers' common room, how they behave there, what they mostly talk about and so on.

Students are found curious even about the private lives of their teachers and many are able to know them. It is also found that students stand influenced, by the personal lives of their teachers, in forming an attitude of respect or disrespect towards their teachers. Table 4 : 14 makes it evident. 74.8 per cent of the students give affirmative replies to the question whether they are influenced by the personal lives of their teachers in forming an attitude of respect or disrespect to the teacher concerned.

Many students are aware, who of their teachers, have married by love, married their students or married in a way not with the full approval of the prevalent social customs, etc. Many students, again, do not like these acts on the part of

Table—4 : 14

Attitudes of students towards the personal lives of their teachers :
Whether they are influenced by the personal lives of their teachers
in forming an attitude of respect or disrespect to the teacher
concerned

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
202 (74.8)	62 (22.9)	6 (2.3)	270 (100.0)

their teachers. Their sense of respect for those teachers suffers a jolt. It may be noted, in this context, that there are more than one teacher in almost every college, who have married their female students, mostly, by love.

The very life styles of teachers have much to influence the attitudes of students towards them. Whether teachers like it or not, some students visit them at their residences and, there, if they come across some aspects of their private lives contrary to their expectations, it spreads like wild fire among students. When students find that many of their teachers are averse to visits to their residences by students, they do not take it well and do feel (particularly who are willing to visit them for matters of discussion and the like), disappointed.

If these be the attitudes of teachers, students may be supposed to learn little or nothing from their examples. "How do you react", a teacher of Philosophy is asked, "to the fact that students do not respect teachers spending their time in a leisurely manner, in a manner that only earns money and material comfort?" "Damn the students' opinion," sharply reacts the teacher.

IV

Different Types of Management

Attention may now be given to the other attitudes of teachers and their influence upon students in shaping their attitudes towards them.

It is found that teachers of one college have attitudes of indifference towards those of the other and this is grounded on the difference in character of the managements of colleges. According to the difference in character of

managements of colleges, colleges are categorised in the following order taking into count the preferences :

1. Missionary College
2. Government College
3. University College
4. Government-Sponsored College, and finally,
5. Private College

Prior to the discussion of each of the listed categories of colleges, Table 4 : 15 may be consulted. It shows that 70.0 per cent of teachers support the fact that difference in character of management of colleges is largely responsible for the attitudes of indifference among teachers of colleges with different managements. Of the two private colleges, one shows 100.0 per cent and another (a Commerce College) shows 50.0 per cent affirmative responses. Of the two government-sponsored colleges, one shows 50.0 per cent and another (a Women's College) shows 77.8 per cent affirmative responses. A university college shows 71.4 per cent, a government college shows 57.9 and a missionary college shows 85.7 per cent affirmative responses.

Table—4 : 15
Attitudes of teachers towards colleges with different managements :
Whether difference in the character of management is a cause for the attitudes of indifference among teachers of colleges with different managements

Colleges	Yes	No	No Reply	Total
Private	13 (100.0)	—	—	13
University	18 (71.4)	6 (28.6)	—	21
Govt-Spond.	8 (50.0)	8 (50.0)	—	16
Private (Commerce)	4 (50.0)	4 (50.0)	—	8
Govt. Spond. (Women's)	7 (77.8)	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	9
Government	11 (57.9)	6 (31.6)	2 (10.5)	19
Missionary	12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	—	14
	70 (70.0)	27 (27.0)	3 (3.0)	100 (100.0)

Missionary colleges managed exclusively by fathers are still regarded as high paying collegiate institutions and their teachers, though subject to many regulations, are the high paid employees. Their students are mainly drawn from people of high income bracket. They have also the reputation of being good colleges as they are less open to student unrest, and other disturbances. Added glamour, students here are psychologically trained to be 'sahibs' and this leads to a felt-distance between such institutions (their teachers, students and others) and other non-missionary collegiate institutions (their teachers, students and others). All these and more of the peculiarities mentioned contribute to the growth of a complex among teachers, students and others of such institutions. Many of them (teachers, students and others) feel superior or better placed than others (students, teachers and others) in non-missionary colleges. Complexes among teachers and other seniors find their ways into their students and other juniors. They too tend to regard other non-missionary colleges (their teachers, students and others) not as good as theirs.

Government colleges may be placed next to the missionary colleges in order of preference. Between a government college and a non-government college (exclusive of missionary college) there is a difference of status, among other things, felt by teachers and others of the colleges. In many teachers of a government college there are the tendencies of treating teachers of non-government colleges with indifference. And these attitudes on the part of a government college teachers affect those of their students towards a non-government college teachers and others.

Next to the government college may be placed the university college. Teachers of a university college feel distinguished by virtue of their association with a university. They regard themselves as university employees and find the difference between them and teachers of other colleges placed under the university—the government-sponsored and the private colleges in particular. Such attitudes prevailing among teachers and others of a university college affect the attitudes of their students and others towards teachers, students and others of other colleges, namely, the government-sponsored and the private colleges.

Next to the university college may be placed the government-sponsored college. Placed between the two—university college on the one hand and private college on the other—government-sponsored college suffers from a peculiar complex. Teachers affected with the complex affect, in turn, their students, among others. There is, under the surface, a feeling of competition in matters of status-complex, between teachers of a university college and those of a government-sponsored college. As teachers of a university college feel that they are attached to university, so teachers of a government-sponsored college feel that they are attached to the government. There is nothing like this with a private college, neither from a university college nor from a government-sponsored college. To them a private college is of no count. This is possibly one of the important causes why students' agitation is more felt or faced in a private college than in other colleges.

As is already clear, teachers of a private college are placed in the lowest rung of the ladder. This feeling is manifest among teachers and others of a private college. The feeling is intense when two colleges with different managements (for example a private college and a government college or a university college and a government-sponsored college) exist in close physical proximity. They are painfully conscious of the attitudes of their colleagues in other colleges. And such attitudes also touch their students. Students seem to feel that their teachers are there, having failed to have a job elsewhere.

Though the monetary differences in the total emoluments of teachers of colleges with different managements are now minimum as a result of the introduction of the Revised UGC Scale of Pay (1973) and the subsequent enactment of the West Bengal (Payment of Salaries) Act, 1978 ensuring the regular monthly salaries of teachers and non-teaching employees of the private college since February, 1978. Differences are there, notwithstanding. In addition, until the introduction of the Revised UGC Scale of Pay (1973) and the enactment of the West Bengal (Payment of Salaries) Act, 1978 financial position of the private college teaching and non-teaching employees was deplorable and open to exploitation by the respective managements. A teacher of a private college was

not then given the status of even a clerk in the government office. Attitudes developed over the past years are yet to die.

V

Other Attitudes

There are other reprehensible attitudes meaning not those (just discussed) between colleges but those in each of the colleges—among each of the subject teachers of every college. Teachers teaching the same subject in a college are found occasionally to be critical of their subject colleagues³, some times ignoring the presence of students and others. Teachers indulging in mutual dissension and denigration⁴ naturally fail to command the respect of their students.

Attitudes between teachers teaching different subjects in a college also draw one's attention. It is found that teachers of some subjects feel that their subjects are more important than those of others and, therefore, as teachers they are more important than other teachers. Teachers of Economics, for example, have attitudes of neglect to those of Bengali. Table 4 : 16 shows that such attitudes prevail among teachers. These attitudes among teachers affect those of their students towards other subjects, their teachers and students.

Table—4 : 16

Attitudes of teachers of one subject towards those of another : Whether teachers of one subject (say, Economics) have attitudes of neglect to those of another subject (say, Bengali)

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
55 (55.0)	45 (45.0)	—	100 (100.0)

Between Faculties

Attitudes between teachers teaching in different faculties (like Arts, Commerce and Science) do not escape the attention. Teachers of Science have attitudes of indifference to those of Arts and Commerce. (Table 4 : 17) it. Teachers of Commerce⁵ do not have attitudes of respect to those of Arts.

Table—4 : 17

Attitudes of teachers of one faculty to those of another: Whether teachers of Science do not have high opinion about those of Arts

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
58 (58.0)	40 (40.0)	2 (2.0)	100 (100.0)

Teachers of Commerce are alleged to be more material in their outlooks than those of Arts and Science. But Table 4:18 disproves it. It is found that many teachers, whether of Arts, Commerce or Science are material in their outlooks. A teacher of Philosophy is not less material than a teacher of Commercial Economics, on the one hand; and a teacher of Accountancy is not more material than a teacher of Chemistry on the other. It stands to fact that material outlook has affected teachers as a whole regardless of faculties or subjects he or she belongs to.

Table—4 : 18

Attitudes of teachers of Arts and Science towards those of Commerce : Whether teachers of Commerce are more material in their outlooks than those of Arts and Science

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
35 (35.0)	59 (59.0)	6 (6.0)	100 (100.0)

University and College Teachers

Attitudes between teachers of college and those of university need be noted. Teachers of college feel that teachers of university are not respectful in their attitudes towards them. It is an age-old complex between teachers of university and college. "There is a tendency among the members of the post-graduate teaching staff to consider themselves as a class to be superior to the teachers in the colleges. This attitude cannot be justified" (Sarkar : 1929, 60). Table 4 : 19 upholds it. College teachers' impression is that teachers of university feel that they are at the highest level and deserve to be respected by college teachers. And

this is demonstrated in their attitudes towards college teachers. Not only that, attitudes of university teachers influence those of their students towards college teachers and college students. This strikes the position and status of a college teacher in the eyes of his students as well.

Table—4 : 19
Attitudes of university teachers towards college teachers :
Whether it is not respectful

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
65 (65.0)	30 (30.0)	5 (5.0)	100 (100.0)

• An important finding is that teachers of a missionary college feel university teachers' attitudes are respectful to them (or it may be put this way that they are less susceptible to the not-respectful attitudes of university teachers than others). It also points to the fact that a missionary college is given the top priority, in the order of preferences, among colleges with different managements.

VI

Anatomy of Insults

Until now various attitudes of teachers and many situations have been delineated and defined. All these attitudes and the situations point to the fact that teachers' position is weak vis-a-vis their students. And this explains why they are open to insults or assaults from students. Responses to the question whether there are cases of insults on them by their students show that 69.0 per cent of teachers give the affirmative replies. The relevant Table 4 : 20 exhibits the responses.

Table—4 : 20
Teachers' views : If there are cases of insults on them by their students

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
69 (69.0)	31 (31.0)	—	100 (100.0)

It has been found that a missionary college is comparatively much free from the cases of insults on teachers while a women's college is very much involved in the cases of insults on teachers, contrary to expectation.

While analysing the problem of insults on teachers, the pertinent question is : why teachers are insulted ? The causes (suggested by teachers in Table 4 : 23 listed in Appendix) why teachers are insulted, are the following :

1. Strict invigilation by teachers
2. Partisan attitudes of teachers
3. Neglect of duty by teachers
4. Rough behaviour of teachers
5. Misunderstanding between teachers and students, and lastly,
6. Teaching inability

Taking into count the views of teachers (as listed above), invigilation by teachers is found to be the first cause followed by other causes shown in the list.

To be in a position to have a comparative analysis of the views of teachers and those of students, students' views as to whether they know of any case of insults on their teachers and also their views on the causes of insults may be taken into consideration. Responses are tabulated in Table 4 : 21.

Table—4 : 21
Students' views : Whether they know of any case of insult on their teachers

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
130 (48.1)	140 (51.9)	—	270 100.0)

Table 4 : 21 displays that students have not come out admitting as much as teachers have, that there are cases of insults on teachers. This is perhaps natural. Those who are hurt remember it more than those who hit.

As to the causes of insults on teachers, students have suggested more or less the same causes as suggested by teachers. (Tables 4 : 23 and 4 : 24 containing the views of teachers and students on the causes of insults on teachers are given in the Appendix). Taking into count the views of

students, the suggested causes may be arranged in the following manner, in order of preference :

1. Rough behaviour of teachers
2. Neglect of duty by teachers
3. Partisan attitudes of teachers
4. Bad teaching by teachers
5. Strict invigilation by teachers, and lastly
6. Loose character of teachers

Now an analytical table showing the order of priority of the causes of insults or assaults on teachers given by teachers and students may be presented.

Analytical Table—4 : 21A

Order of priority of the causes of insults or assaults on teachers given by teachers and students

<i>Teachers' views in order of priority</i>	<i>Students' views in order of priority</i>
1. Strict invigilation	1. Rough behaviour of teachers
2. Partisan attitudes	2. Neglect of duty by teachers
3. Neglect of duty by teachers	3. Partisan attitudes of teachers
4. Rough behaviour of teacher	4. Bad teaching by teachers
5. Misunderstanding between teachers and students	5. Strict invigilation
6. Teaching inability of teachers	6. Loose characters of teachers

As the analytical Table (4 : 21A) shows, in teachers' views strict invigilation comes to be regarded as the first cause while in students' views, it comes to be regarded as the fifth cause.

In teachers' views, partisan attitudes come to be regarded as the second cause while in students' views, it comes to be regarded as the third cause.

In teachers' views, neglect of duty comes to be regarded as the third cause while in students' views, it comes to be regarded as the second cause.

In teachers' views, rough behaviour comes to be regarded as the fourth cause while in students' views, it comes to be regarded as the first cause.

In teachers' views, misunderstanding comes to be regarded as the fifth cause while in students' views, it finds no place.

In teachers' views, teaching inability comes to be regarded as the sixth or last cause while in students' views, it (bad teaching) comes to be regarded as the fourth cause.

In teachers' views loose character finds no place while in students' views, it comes to be regarded as the sixth or last cause.

Expected Qualities

It clearly emerges that students do not find in their teachers what they expect to find in them. What qualities do they expect to find in their teachers? Students themselves have answered the question. The suggested qualities may be arranged in order of their preference :

1. Sympathy for students
2. Good teaching
3. Good behaviour
4. Dutyfulness
5. Scholarship
6. (a) Close contact with students, and (b) personality
7. Good character, and lastly
8. Impartiality

Table 4 : 22 Brings the picture clearly out.

‘Table—4 : 22
Students' opinion as to what qualities they expect to
find in their teachers

Good behaviour	Sympathy for Students	Dutiful- ness	Good teach- ing	Close contact with Students	Perso- nality
90 (33.3)	128 (47.4)	52 (19.2)	120 (44.4)	34 (12.5)	34 (12.5)
Good character	Scholarship	Impartiality	No Reply	Total	
32 (11.8)	42 (15.5)	4 (1.4)	54 (20.0)	270	

As it is evident from Table 4 : 22, what students expect most from their teachers is sympathy. Next to sympathy, they expect from their teachers good teaching and next to good teaching, they expect, good behaviour.

It is also clear from the table that good teaching with sympathy followed by good behaviour is the crying need. When these qualities, among other, are available in their teachers, students may be found much less recalcitrant and much more respectful in their relation to their teachers and the normal teacher-student relation may be found to flow.

NOTES

- (1) "College libraries in Calcutta and the districts are in a deplorable condition. Even in colleges, where there is a good collection of books, very few students or teachers can make use of them, as these libraries are understaffed or do not have adequate space for reading...Very few students, particularly those in the honours course, could buy books of their own. They had to depend on college libraries to supplement their class lectures. But, it was a pity that except for two or three colleges in West Bengal, students were denied this minimum facility" (The Statesman, 1981, 10th December).
- (2) An invigilating teacher was found making anxious enquiries to an examinee in an apparent effort to show his affection for the examinee who on the previous day attempted to throw a folding steel chair upon an invigilating teacher for his attempt at catching the examinee copying from a piece of scribbled paper carried in his person from outside. The teacher making the enquiry was clearly motivated to save his skin at the cost of others of his colleagues.
- (3) The bitter relation among teachers does not remain confined at the college level. It is also found among teachers at the university level. Dr S.K. Mukherjee, ex Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, said on the eve of his retirement (on 31.12.78) that "he would have been happy if relations among teachers in the post-graduate departments were better...personal squabbles were responsible for the bitterness. He said the bitterness often affected students and the non-

teaching staff..." (The Statesman, 1978, 30th December).

- (4) A senior most teacher of a college, having some 30 years of teaching experience, is reported to have commented to his students that Mr A's (second man in the same subject) book (written for pass-course students of +2 course and well received by them) is not worth-following by students. "It is full of mistakes". The teacher's remark is found to be based on the fact that he fails to stand the popularity of his junior colleague, author of the book.
- (5) An incident may be cited to illustrate the attitude of a Commerce teacher to Arts : A Commerce teacher of repute is reported to have asked one of his students to switch over to Arts as he (the student) is found unmindful while the teacher is discussing a problem. While asking the student to go over to Arts, he (the teacher) is reported to have remarked, "There is much scope for dreaming".
- (6) Table 4 : 22 is based on the responses given to the question, and the question is an unstructured one. Each of the students is left free to suggest as many qualities as he deems proper in a teacher. Hence, more than one response from one student. And this explains why the arithmetical total in the table (horizontally) does not tally with the total number of students taken from each of the seven colleges.

Politics and Teacher-Student Relation

As has been shown in the preceding chapter, teacher-student relationship is shaped in the background of teacher's total behaviour. The same theme remaining intact, the present chapter is devoted to dealing with the political behaviour of teachers and the impact it leaves upon the relation.

Political Attitudes

Political behaviour of teachers is found to play an important role in forming the attitudes of students and reinforcing those already formed. Table 5 : 1 shows that 71.0 per cent of the sample college teachers support one or the other of many Indian political parties while a 'few' teachers, (approximately, 25.0 per cent as shown in Table 5 : 2) in every college are actively involved in politics enlisting political support to their respective political parties from people including students.

Table—5 : 1
Attitudes of teachers towards political party : Whether they support a particular political party

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
71	29	—	100
(71.0)	(29.0)		(100.0)

Table 5 : 1 shows that 71.0 per cent of teachers support particular political parties while Table 5 : 2 shows that 69.0 per cent of teachers hold that 'few' teachers are active supporters of one or the other of Indian political parties.

Table—5 : 2

Attitudes of teachers towards active political support : Whether they are active supporters of one or the other political party

All	Many	Few	None	No Reply	Total
1	14	69	13	3	100
(1.0)	(14.0)	(69.0)	(13.0)	(3.0)	(100.0)

It is easy for students to know the political affiliation of those teachers who are politically active. It is not difficult for students to know the political affiliation of even those teachers who are not politically active (but have got definite political parties of their choice). This is facilitated by the fact that those teachers, though not politically active, consciously or unconsciously, in times of their lectures in the class room or in times of their talks to students outside the class room or in the background of a particular situation, make known their support, through some hasty comments, for a particular political party. Students of the present decade, politically more conscious than their predecessors do not find it difficult to know the political affiliation of their teachers by their utterances¹.

Related to the active politician teachers is the fact that they hardly find time or mind to devote to studies or students. They have to be busy with the myriad political works assigned to them by their respective political leaders. As a consequence such teachers are found to be uncommitted teachers. "The teacher who is not properly motivated, who does not want to improve his qualifications and keep up-to-date, naturally turns to easy money-making and academic politics. Academic politics is his path to self-advancement and he exploits kin, caste, region and other ties to further his interests. Influential and troublesome students are cultivated by him. The net result is a fouling up of the academic atmosphere" (Srinivas : 1972, 103). Students are

asked whether the uncommitted teachers are more concerned with politics than with serious studies and teaching. About 57.8 per cent of the sample students give the affirmative responses which are shown in Table 5 : 3.

Table—5 : 3
Students' views : Whether the uncommitted teachers are more concerned with politics than with serious studies and teaching

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
156 (57.8)	102 (37.8)	12 (4.4)	270 (100.0)

Active politician teachers apart, teachers in general are no longer politically neutral. "The politician has tended to become the successful man par excellence because of the pre-eminence he seems to have in public life. Teachers and students also, therefore, try to become 'politicians' in their own situations" (Bhatt : 1972, 289). This fact encourages students to be politically involved. Students feel justified in their political activities when they find their teachers following (actively or otherwise) one political party or the other. Table 5 : 4 evinces that teachers' political opinions (expressed through their partisan behaviour) influence their students (evident from students' partisan behaviour).

Table—5 : 4
Attitudes of teachers towards students : Whether students are influenced by the political opinion of their teachers

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
72 (72.0)	25 (25.0)	3 (3.0)	100 (100.0)

Table 5 : 4 shows that 72.0 per cent of the teachers have given affirmative responses to the question whether teachers' political opinions influence their students.

Political orientation has set in students as well and this is manifest from Table 5 : 5. About 60.0 per cent of the students have given the affirmative responses to the question whether they support a particular political party.

Table—5 : 5
Students' views : Whether they support a particular political party

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
162 (60.0)	108 (40.0)	—	270 (100.0)

When both teachers and students are, more or less, politically involved, politics hereafter offers the cementing bond between teachers and students, of course, under the canopy of the same political party. "The teacher-student relationship becomes a political equation rather than an academic and spiritual bond. Students seek rewards through political pressures and personal loyalty, rather than hard work and merit. Teachers seek easy life and are glad to avoid the drudgery of research and reading. They indulge in the intoxication of politics, using students to gain political power in the college and the society. Students, unwilling to study, but eager to pass the examination, form a happy clique with teachers who are equally unwilling to teach" (Singh : 1972, 258). In this context it is often complained by a section of politically passive teachers that teachers with political connection are more cared for by students (of course with a definite political orientation). The reason is obvious. Majority of students are found eager to find a job after somehow passing their examinations. Such students find a politically active teacher or one some how or other connected with a government more helpful in their pursuit of a job.

In the background of Table 5 : 4 and Table 5 : 5, it may safely be said that political views of teachers strengthen those of their students—when students' views are already formed—and influence them into accepting teachers' views—when students' views are not formed. Students from villages with illiterate parents are more susceptible to teachers' influence than those who come from urban areas with literate parents. It is found that students of the urban areas have, in most cases, already got their political orientation in favour or against a particular political party before they come to college. "The political socialisation of the student begins even before

he enters college" (Ibid : 256). Many, if not all, of the students from villages come to college with a vague political opinion. The vagueness is gradually cleared under the influence of teachers of their choice and others including senior students with definite political doctrination.

Political Guidance

Politically active teachers, loyal to a particular political party, are usually found to lead publicly or privately, by their advices etc., those students who also pay allegiance to the same political party. Now, this 'leading operation' of a section of students by a section of teachers is effected more in private than in public. On the surface, it is not almost understood. Students are found to associate with teachers holding political views opposed to theirs. Teachers too are apparently found not discriminating between sections of students holding political views opposed to one another. However, cordial they may appear, on the surface, they—students and teachers alike—are very much conscious of their political division, under the surface. The political division or difference between sections of students and teachers come out in the open where there is some crisis in the campus. There is political grouping among teachers (Table 5 : 8) which encourages political grouping among students also. This has been shown in Table 5 : 6. A new relation grows up between students and teachers—political relation, in lieu of, teacher-student relation.

Table—5 : 6
Attitudes of teachers towards grouping among teachers :
Whether it encourages groupism among students

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
72 (72.0)	22 (22.0)	6 (6.0)	100 (100.0)

Political Factions & Students' Union

In the colleges of North Bengal, the dominant political factions are :

1. Chatra Parishad (C.P.)
2. Students' Federation of India (S.F.I.), and
3. Progressive Students' Union (P.S.U.)

As is well known, C.P. represents Congress Party, S.F.I. represents Communist Party of India (Marxist) [C.P.I. (M)] and P.S.U. represents Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.). Students' Unions are run by either C.P. or S.F.I. or P.S.U. or some times, by S.F.I. and P.S.U. combined.

When a particular students' union comes to power, a particular section of teachers is found active in advising or helping otherwise the students' union from a distance. The students' union concerned has, of course, a good rapport with the corresponding political party outside the college. "The youth factions in colleges and universities are financed, guided, controlled and led by political parties, functioning in the arena of national and state politics. And the students have been actively utilized by the party bosses at the time of elections and public protests against government decisions" (Sharma : 1971, 82). The pro-union teachers try to ensure, through their activities, mostly under a cover, here and there, now and then, the repeated successes in the annual union elections.

Students' union in a college is an extremely important machinery for a political party, mainly for the purpose of extending the political party's spheres of influence among the young students and through them among the general masses. "Students' unions are channels of political ideologies and values. It is the close ties with the political parties that enable the unions to be efficient agents of political socialisation" (Aikara : 1977. 77). Importance being attached to students' union in a college may be gauged from the fanfare (not less spectacular than that in case of a general election) in which a students' union election is held. The students' union plays a crucial role in politicising the teacher-student relation. Occasionally, it is found to be responsible for the acrimonious relation between teachers and students for it gives rise to opposing groups among students as well as among teachers. Again, on occasions, it is found to be at the root of an attack on a teacher or a principal or a clash between opposing groups of students with severe consequences.

May the students' union be done away with? It apparently serves no other function than that of political recruitment of cadres or finding new supporters for a political party and, in the process, giving rise to myriad problems for teachers, students and others involved in imparting and receiving education. This fact might be instrumental in getting Mrs Madhuri Shah, ex-chairman of the University Grants Commission, to suggest "depoliticization of university campuses throughout the country". She "suggested abolition of elections to students' councils, favouring instead nomination of meritorious students" (The Statesman : 10.1.82, 12). Students' unions were originally intended to "represent an important way of providing student participation in university life outside the class room. Properly organised, they help in self-government and self-discipline, provide a healthy outlet for students' energies and give the students useful training in the use of democratic methods. . . . But in a majority of institutions, they have tended to function like trade unions presuming to represent students' interests against those of the teachers and authorities" (Report of the Education Commission : 1966, 295-296).

That the students' unions in the educational institutions are at present no longer serving the original purpose outlined above is upheld by a small political section of teachers but politicisation has penetrated to such a depth among teachers and others that the majority (72.0 per cent) of teachers support the continuance of the union with all its evils. They still hold the view that it is necessary to safeguard the interests of students. Table 5 : 7 makes it clear.

Tab'e—5 : 7
Attitudes of teachers towards students' union : Whether it is necessary to safeguard the interests of students

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
72 (72.0)	28 (28.0)	—	100 (100.0)

Political Relation in Lieu of Teacher-Student Relation

The grouping among teachers and students is strengthened by the fact of their common political faith. The political

bond between them becomes strong to stronger, from year to year, as they know one another more and more. Relation between such teachers and students is unique in the sense that it is based not upon respect for teachers or love for students but upon a common political faith of teacher and student. Teacher-student relationship is here replaced by the political 'dada bhai' relation². Political 'dadas' need not be good teachers. Political 'bhais' need not be good students either. What is needed is the commitment to the common political ideology. Political 'dadas' are more influential among teachers while political 'bhais' are more influential among students. Importance of political 'dadas' and political 'bhais' is magnified by leaps and bounds when their political party is in power.

On occasions, political qualification is found to be more important than the educational qualification of a teacher or a student. A good teacher is not counted much because of his political deficiency. Serious students respect him. But the number of serious students is very small. A good teacher can help only good students or who are serious about their studies. Teaching and learning are intimately connected. Similarly good teachers and good learners are closely related. But when majority of students like only to pass, somehow or the other, their examinations and to get to clerical jobs or those of primary school teachers, they find politician teachers or teachers with connection with government, state or centre, more helpful than the really good teachers without any definite political backing.

II

Political Grouping

Attention may now be turned to grouping among teachers—mainly a political grouping—and its impact upon students. Political grouping among teachers, as is already clear, greatly contributes to the politicisation of the teacher-student relation.

Teachers more or less in every college are divided into a number of groups mostly along different political lines. Teachers with identical political views are found to be group-

ed together. On different issues, the group character makes its debut when teachers are found to be divided in different opposing camps, failing to flaunt a united stand. The relevant Table is 5 : 8. It shows that 70.0 per cent of the teachers have given affirmative responses to the question whether teachers are divided into groups.

Table—5 : 8

Attitude of teachers towards grouping among teachers :
Whether they are divided into groups

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
70 (70.0)	30 (30.0)	—	100 (100.0)

Table 5 : 8 clearly shows that teachers, in every college, are more or less divided into different groups. Situation is such that teachers have to come under one group or the other, willingly or unwillingly for teachers in no-group have to suffer. Students' views as well may be looked into. The relevant Table is 5 : 9.

Table—5 : 9

Students' views : Whether their teachers are divided into a number of groups

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
174 (64.4)	96 (35.6)	—	270 (100.0)

Table 5 : 9 exhibits that students are quite aware of the fact that their teachers are divided into a number of groups. The very awareness of it encourages students to develop parallel groups among themselves. Politically active of the students generally take the lead.

Bases of Grouping

Now, the pertinent question is what may be the bases of grouping among teachers or what is the most important base of grouping ? The answer has been provided in Table 5 : 10.

Table—5 : 10
Teachers' views : Bases of grouping among teachers

Identical political opinion	Regionalism	Caste	Principal's discriminatory attitudes	Similar temperament	Same age	Language & subject	No Reply	Total
58 (58.0)	21 (21.0)	3 (3.0)	46 (46.0)	25 (25.0)	3 (3.0)	1 (1.0)	25 (25.0)	100

The main bases of grouping among teachers, as demonstrated in Table 5 : 10 are, in order of preference, the following :

1. Identical political opinion
2. Principal's discriminatory attitudes towards teachers
3. Similar temperament
4. Regionalism
5. Same age and caste, and lastly,
6. Language and subject

As is already clear, identical political opinion of teachers comes to occupy the first place followed by Principal's discriminatory attitudes, similar temperament, etc. Principal's discriminatory attitude is but a different expression of political division among teachers. Pro-principal teachers and anti-principal teachers are not the permanent sets. They change with the change of state politics. Pro-state government teachers are usually the pro-principal teachers and anti-state government teachers are usually the anti-principal teachers. Pro-principal teachers generally give the principal necessary counsels and the principal generally acts upon counsels in running the college.

Table 5 : 11 evinces that teachers are divided into two opposite camps over the principal. One camp likes him and another dislikes him.

Table—5 : 11
Attitudes of teachers towards principal

Like him	Dislike him	No Reply	Total
47 (47.0)	47 (47.0)	6 (6.0)	100 (100.0)

It is easily imagined that teachers who have strong dislike for the principal also vehemently dislike the pro-principal teachers. And this makes inevitable a clash of interests between teachers over the principal and the situation in the college gets tense and often explodes into unpleasant scenes throwing teachers further down in the esteem of their students.

Standing between the two warring groups of teachers, principal occasionally acts without principles. He does it more on the spur from others than on his own will. No principal is happy with his teacher colleagues. Many of them always want the principal out (of his seat). Principal has to fight against the odds to continue to stay on his saddle which is not at all comfortable these days when students are recalcitrant and teachers are discontent.

Pro-principal, anti-principal groupings do not remain confined to teachers alone. It extends to non-teaching staff⁴ among others connected with the college. Table 5 : 12 makes it clear.

⁵Table—5 : 12
Attitudes of non-teaching staff towards the principal

Like him	Dislike him	No Reply	Total
13 (43.3)	16 (53.3)	1 (3.4)	30 (100.0)

Less Important Bases

Efforts may now be made to deal with the less important bases of grouping (as brought out by Table 5 : 10) among teachers. They will serve to point out some reasons for the increasingly disrespectful attitudes of students towards their teachers.

Next to identical political opinion and principal's discriminatory attitudes, may be placed, in order of preferences shown by teachers, temperamental grouping among teachers. Those who have similar tastes or temperaments are found to group together. Political temperament is not ruled out. Similar political temperaments occasionally outweigh

age, etc. It is not true that those who are temperamentally similar and under a group may not have different ages.

Next to similar temperament, comes regionalism. Regionalism foments grouping among teachers. Though openly many do not admit it, but in their utterances and attitudes, it is often revealed. Regionalism mainly divides teachers into two groups : (1) Those from Calcutta or South Bengal, and (2) Those from North Bengal.

The regional feeling of South Bengal and North Bengal mainly centres round the University of Calcutta and the University of North Bengal. Those who have passed their M.A./M.Com./M.Sc. from the University of Calcutta are under a group and those who have passed (their M.A./M.Com./M.Sc.) from the University of North Bengal are under another group. One who, by residential qualifications, belongs to North Bengal but, by educational qualifications, to Calcutta or South Bengal, is surely included into the latter group. It is a dominant feeling among those from the University of Calcutta or South Bengal that they are intellectually superior to those from the University of North Bengal or North Bengal Zone.

Next to regionalism, (in order of preference) may be placed same age and caste. Both, same age and caste, are given equal weightage (3.0 per cent as shown in Table 5 : 10). Age may be dealt with first and caste later.

Teachers, more or less, apparently of the same age are grouped together. The two opposed age-groups—the old and the young—hardly escape attention of any. These are the two broad age-groups. Roughly, those who are below forty years of age may come under the young group and those who are above forty years of age may come under the old group. The old are often found to air their dislike for the young, their tastes, manners and styles. Some of the old are much vocal in airing their disapproval for the non-traditional young so far their dresses etc. are concerned. The young teachers are also found to be critical of the old mainly because of their tradition-bound outlooks. There is always a gap between the two—the generation gap. “The conflict of generations. . . . is basic, essential, and eternal. It is based on a conflict of interests more fundamental than any other the younger

generation all over the world has much in common to hold dear and fight for. The gap between the two generations is wider today than ever before. The old look backwards. They are bound to develop a vested interest in the status quo. The young look forward'' (Kashyap : 1972, 55).

The over-all picture is that caste seems to play no role in fomenting grouping of teachers though 10.5 per cent of a government college teachers have reported in favour of caste playing some role in fomenting grouping. Majority of teachers in colleges in North Bengal are Bengalees, with Bengali as their mother-tongue. Again, majority of teachers are Hindoos.

The last and really the least, if one takes note of the over-all percentage (1.0 per cent) given to it, come the language and subject. It is reported by 7.1 per cent of a missionary college teachers. In a missionary college, official medium of instruction is English though all the teachers and students have not English as their mother-tongue. There are some non-Indian fathers as teachers and they have English as their mother-tongue. Of the other teachers (so far Darjeeling-based missionary college is concerned) some speaking in Bengali, some in Hindi and the rest speak in Nepali. This is also true in regard to students. Hence language inevitably plays a role, at least, in this college, in fomenting grouping among teachers and students.

So far the subject is concerned, those who teach English and those who have fluency in English are supposed to enjoy greater prestige over other teachers. Missionary background of the college is important in the present context.

Pre-take-over post-take-over grouping : In addition to the bases of grouping until now listed and elaborated, another is found to prevail in a college (a university college) not mentioned in Table 5 : 10. It may be looked into.

It is a pre-take-over and post-take-over grouping among teachers.⁶ Teachers of post-take-over group feel that they are, in terms of academic achievements, superior to those of the pre-take-over group. The claim of the post-take-over group is not found to be tenable.⁷ But, what is clear is that teachers of the post-take-over group are swayed by a feeling of pride that they are appointed to a university college

claimed to be at par with the university while the teachers of the pre-take-over group are not appointed, straightway, to the university college, but, are elevated from their status of a private college teachers to that of a university college teachers. The discriminatory attitudes of a private college teachers and those of a university college teachers are once again made clear, but, strikingly, in the same college.

Most Important Base

It is again to be noted that all these groups are easily overshadowed by the main groups—the political groups. These are small circles within the large ones—the political ones. These are groups within the groups. In times of crisis battle lines are drawn along the respective political lines forgetting all the secondary differences. Primary differences are the political differences.

III

All Pervasive Politics

Politics has prevaded, it is clear, every layer of a college. When teachers, non-teachers⁸ and those on the Governing Body/College Council are steeped into politics, willy-nilly, students who spend many hours of a day with them for a definite period of time, most vital and formative to them, are bound to be influenced by the all-pervasive politics that divides them and erodes their strength. When students feel and find that their teachers are divided into a number of groups, mostly on political lines, they too take their own lines of approach in their relation to their teachers—they are divided into corresponding groups with the inevitable consequences of being occasionally drawn into strike and struggle on narrow interest over small issues and teachers have to remain as passive onlookers as they have no normal strength to bear upon their students.

Students holding the same political views as their teachers are friendly and obedient to their teachers while students holding contrary political views are neither friendly nor obedient to their teachers. Political difference between students and teachers is often a cause for trouble inside or outside a class room. A good teacher but with a definite

political bias may face troubles when he meets students holding political views contrary to his. But a bad teacher also with a definite political bias passes off undisturbed when he meets students holding the same political views as his.

NOTES

- (1) A teacher in Economics in course of his lectures on cotton textile blurted out "Your Gandhi 'fandi' ". The very use of the suffix 'fandi' denoting the teacher's dislike or disrespect for the late Mahatma Gandhi (Father of Nation) brought on foot a few students from the back benches in the class room. They protested against the (conscious or unconscious) use of "Gandhi-fandi". It was clear from the utterance that the teacher was a supporter of a leftist political party and students protesting were against the political party of the teacher. The whole class could know, if they did not know it before, that teacher was opposed to the Congress Party or any political party following Gandhi's political philosophy.
- (2) Political 'dadas' and political 'bhais' mean elder and younger brothers, not having been born of the common parents but having been deeply initiated into a common political ideology (or political party).
- (3) Table 5 : 10 is based on responses freely given by teachers. Teachers were left free to suggest as many bases as they thought important and this is why the arithmetical total in the table (horizontally) does not tally with the total number of teachers taken from each of the seven colleges.
- (4) It was brought to the author's notice by some teachers of a college that one of their colleagues was beaten by some students on the investigations provided by a section of non-teaching staff taking advantage of the passive stance of the principal. The pretext offered by the 'students' (alleged to be local goondas

and not college students) was that the teachers concerned was too strict in invigilation. Actually, for some political reasons, a section of non-teaching staff was dissatisfied with the teacher. Principal too was not happy with the teacher. Beating of the teacher by some 'students' was simply an act of retaliation.

- (5) A note must be taken of the fact that the attitude of a non-teaching member to a teaching member on the chair may be different. Already developed attitudes of a non-teaching member to a teaching member may not change even after the elevation of the teacher to a Teacher-in-Charge, though for a brief tenure. It may be clear from the reaction of teachers to the principal as represented by Table 5 : 11 that teachers are generally apathetic to principals (where of course the principals are full-fledged and permanent. Temporary ones officiating as principals are not much counted).

From the reactions of non-teaching staff to principal as represented by Table 5 : 12, it may also be cleared that non-teaching staff too, without any exception, are apathetic to principal. The Table further exhibits that non-teaching staff are more apathetic to principal than teachers are. Cumulative effect of the combined responses of Tables 5 : 11 and 5 : 12 clearly points to the fact that teachers as well as non-teaching employees (non-teaching more than teaching employees) are opposed to the principal (full-fledged and permanent).

- (6) The College in question was a private college until 1968. The period of time until 1968 since the inception of the college (1947) is bracketed into pre-take-over period. Teachers appointed during this period are under the pre-take-over group. Since 1968 the college is upgraded to the status of a university college. Teachers appointed during this period are bracketed into the post-take-over group. Another cause lead-

ing to the birth of the peculiar grouping is that pre-take-over group of teachers enjoys slightly better monetary benefits, some way or the other.

- (7) The point was raised with the principal of the college in course of interview with him. He made a comparative analysis of the teachers of both the groups and concluded that the claim of the post-take-over group was not tenable. Incidetally, it may be mentioned, that the principal himself was appointed to the college in the pre-take-over period.
- (8) Members on Governing Body/College Council are also selected or elected on political qualifications. They have to belong to one political party or other "Nominees on the governing bodies in most colleges of the state, have been appointed on the basis of their 'political affiliation'" (The Statesman : 22.2.79,3).

Chapter 6

Teacher-Non-teacher and Teacher-Student Relation

A college is a totality of students, teachers (including principal), non-teaching staff and those on the Governing Body/ College Council or whatever the name. Relation between any two sets of people under reference is influenced by, and has influence over, the other. Seniors influence the juniors more than the juniors influence the seniors. It has been shown in the preceding chapters that behaviour of teachers (including their political behaviour) influences their students. Students behave as they are behaved to. Similarly, one comes across the fact that relation between teaching and non-teaching staff of a college impinge upon the behaviour of students towards either of them, teachers in particular.

Strained Relation

Relation between the teaching and the non-teaching staff is more or less strained in every college for they represent two opposed segments of the collegiate staff because of many differences between them—differences, *inter alia*, in pay, work-conditions, status, education, privileges, etc. What-

ever the causes, this strained teaching-non-teaching relation affects the teacher-student relation.

Attention may now be given to the views of teachers and those of non-teaching staff as demonstrated by relevant tables to understand the nature of relation between them. The relevant Tables are 6 : 1 and 6 : 2, respectively.

Table-6 : 1
Attitudes of teachers towards the general relation between teaching and non-teaching staff : Whether it is strained

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
60 (60.0)	39 (39.0)	1 (1.0)	100 (100.0)

Table 6 : 1 shows that 60.0 per cent of teachers support the view that their relation with their non-teaching colleagues is strained. Table 6 : 2 may be taken up to be aware of the non-teaching staff's views.

Table-6 : 2
Non-teaching staff's views : Whether there is an under- current of tension between teaching and non-teaching staff in their colleges

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
18 (60.0)	12 (40.0)	—	30 (100.0)

Table 6 : 2 shows that 60.0 per cent of the non-teaching staff have upheld the view that their relation with their teacher colleagues is strained (or there is an undercurrent of tension in the relation between them). Attention may now be directed to students to know their views on the teaching-non-teaching staff relation. The relevant Table is 6 : 3.

Table 6 : 3 shows that 54.8 per cent of the students are aware that teaching and non-teaching staff of their colleges are not in general mutually respectful to one another. The consecutive three tables (i.e., 6 : 1, 6 : 2, and 6 : 3) on the teaching-non-teaching staff relation prove it beyond doubt

Table—6 : 3

Students' views : Whether they are aware that teaching and non-teaching staff of their colleges are not, in general, respectful to one another

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
148 (54.8)	116 (42.9)	6 (2.3)	270 (100.0)

that the relation is a strained one and that it is an open secret—known to students and others connected with a college.

Causes

The vital question is : What are the causes of the strained relation? Attention may again be directed to the views of teachers and non-teaching employees backed by relevant tables, for it is a relation embedded into the actions and reactions to each other. The relevant Tables are 6 : 4 and 6 : 5, respectively.

Table 6 : 4 evinces, on the basis of teachers' views, the seven different causes of the strained relation between teachers and non-teaching employees of a college. It is also clear from the table that, of the seven basic causes, 'different pay' is treated to be the most important (43.0 per cent) cause. 'Different status' and 'work-conditions' come to be treated as second important cause (39.0 per cent each) while 'non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers' comes to be treated as the third important cause (16.0 per cent) followed by, in order of teachers' preferences, 'low educational qualifications of non-teaching staff' (15.0 per cent), 'higher educational qualifications of teachers' (10.0 per cent) and, lastly, 'arrogant attitudes of teachers' (8.0 per cent).

Efforts may now be made to probe into the views of the non-teaching staff so that one can have a comparison of the views of both teachers and non-teaching staff and have a better understanding of the causes of the strained relation. Non-teaching staff's views are represented by the Table 6 : 5.

Table 6 : 5 shows, on the basis of non-teaching employees' views, that 'work-conditions', of the seven basic causes, is treated to be the most important cause (56.7 per cent)

Table—6 : 4
Teachers' views : Basic causes of strained relation between teaching and non-teaching staff (NTS)

Different pay	Different status	Work-conditions	Arrogant attitudes of teachers	NTS expectation of being respected by teachers	Higher educational qualifications of teachers	Low educational qualifications of NTS	No Reply	Total
43 (43.0)	39 (39.0)	39 (39.0)	8 (8.0)	16 (16.0)	10 (10.0)	15 (15.0)	37 (37.0)	100

Table—6 : 5
Non-teaching staff's views : Causes of the strained relation between non-teaching staff (NTS) and teachers

Different pay	Different status	Work conditions	Arrogant attitudes of teachers	Higher educational qualifications of teachers	Low educational qualifications of NTS	NTS expectations of being respected by teachers	No Reply	Total
13 (43.3)	9 (30.0)	17 (56.7)	9 (30.0)	—	2 (6.7)	12 (40.0)	5 (16.7)	30

followed by, in order of non-teaching staff's preference, 'Different pay' (43.3 per cent), Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers' (40.0 per cent), 'Different status' and 'Arrogant attitudes of teachers' (30.0 per cent), and lastly, 'Low educational qualifications of non-teaching staff' (6.7 per cent) while 'Higher educational qualification of teachers' is not at all counted. This is significant that non-teaching employees do not count the higher educational qualifications of teachers. And this is why non-teaching employees find no justification for better work-conditions and higher scale of pay, etc. for teachers and claim equal status, monetary and otherwise, with teachers. It is an important cause of misunderstanding between them.

A comparison of the preferences given by teachers and non-teaching employees to the causes shown by Tables 6 : 4 and 6 : 5, respectively may now be drawn. Analytical Table 6 : 5 A brings the relevant points clearly out.

Analytical Table—6 : 5A

Order of priority of the views on the causes of the teacher-non-teacher strained relation given by teachers and non-teaching staff

<i>Order of priority of the views given by teachers</i>	<i>Order of priority of the views given by non-teaching staff</i>
1. Different pay	1. Work-conditions
2. Different status and work-conditions (two causes given equal weight)	2. Different pay
3. Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers	3. Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers
4. Low educational qualification of non-teaching staff	4. Different status and arrogant attitudes of teachers (two causes given equal weightage)
5. Higher educational qualifications of the teaching staff	5. Low educational qualifications of non-teaching staff (last cause)
6. Arrogant attitudes of teachers (last cause)	6. Higher educational qualifications of teachers (not counted by non-teaching staff)

As it is clear from Analytical Table 6 : 5A, in teachers' views, 'Different Pay' is counted to be the first cause while in non-teaching staff's views, it is counted to be the second cause.

In teachers' views, 'Different status' and 'Work-conditions' are counted to be the second cause (both the causes are given equal weightage) while in non-teaching staff's views : (a) 'Different status' is counted to be the fourth cause ; and (b) 'Work-condition' the first cause.

In teachers' views 'Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers' is counted to be the third cause, in non-teaching staff's views, it is also counted to be the third cause.

In teachers' views 'Low educational qualifications of non-teaching staff' is counted to be the fourth cause while in non-teaching staff's views, the last cause.

In teachers' views 'Higher educational qualification of teachers' is counted to be the fifth cause while in non-teaching staff's views, it is not counted at all.

In teachers' views, 'Arrogant attitudes of teachers' is counted to be the sixth (last) cause while in non-teaching staff's views, it is the fourth cause.

In the eyes of non-teaching staff, the first three causes are:

- (a) Work-conditions
- (b) Different pay, and
- (c) Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers.

In the eyes of teachers, the first three causes are :

- (a) Different pay
- (b) Work-conditions and different status, and
- (c) Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers.

It may be concluded, in the wake of the above comparison, that 'work-conditions' is the most important cause (56.7 per cent by non-teaching staff +39.0 per cent by teachers =95.7 per cent). Next to it, may be placed, 'Different pay' (43.0 per cent by non-teaching staff +43.0 per cent by teachers =86.0 per cent). In the third place, comes 'Non-teaching staff's expectation of being respected by teachers'

(40.0 per cent by non-teaching staff + 16.0 per cent by teachers = 56.0 per cent.

II

Further Elaboration

Attempts may be made first to make some further elaboration of the nature of teacher-non-teaching staff relation and, then to show its influence upon students in their relation to their teachers.

Non-teaching staff usually in the rank of clerks, orderlies and others are found to be in all the colleges more or less allergic² to teachers. They appear to be averse³ to teachers because of their higher pay, status, better work-conditions and the like. It is their feeling that they work longer and also harder⁴ than teachers. They seem to feel that, though they work in the same institution but they are differently treated and differently paid. Their knowledge that teachers are teachers and non-teaching staff are non-teaching staff do not offer them much consolation. They feel dissatisfied and their dissatisfactions are variously ventilated.

Occasionally, non-teaching staff are vocally critical about their teacher colleagues and sometimes ignoring the presence of students. Teachers too conscious as they are of their better position, behave in a way that ride rough shod over the feelings of their non-teacher colleagues. Teachers are hardly able to reconcile themselves to regarding the non-teaching staff as their colleagues. Teachers too are found fastidious about the non-teaching employees and talk of them in disparaging terms among themselves and others including students.

Animosity between teaching and non-teaching employees is sometimes reported to assume alarming proportions. Incidents have taken place more than once in colleges where teachers and non-teaching staff have run into scuffles climaxing their bitter differences. Humiliating exchange of arguments is a very common affair.

It is a common sight in a college that a teacher has to remain standing before the table of an official for a good length of time without being offered a chair. Such a delibe-

rate slighting attitude by a non-teaching employee towards a teacher affects the esteem of students for the teacher.

What teachers in general, are guilty of is that they like to be respected by the non-teaching staff and whenever the expectation is not met the teachers get discontented with the non-teaching staff. And the discontent, once generated, continues unabated and is likely to assume ugly manifestations to the surprise of students (and others) around. Tables 6 : 6 and 6 : 7, respectively are relevant.

Table—6 : 6
Non-teaching staff's views : Whether teachers insist that they be respected by them (Non-teaching staff)

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
19 (63.3)	11 (36.7)	—	30 (100.0)

Table 6 : 6 shows that 63.3 per cent of non-teaching staff have confirmed the fact that teachers expect to be respected by non-teaching employees. Attention may be turned to Table 6 : 7 in order to see the reactions of non-teaching staff to the teachers' insistence on non-teachers' respect to them (teachers).

Table—6 : 7
Non-teaching staff's attitudes towards teachers' expectation of respect from them (Non-teaching staff)

Like it	Dislike it	No Reply	Total
2 (6.7)	22 (73.3)	6 (20.0)	30 (100.0)

Table 6 : 7 shows that 73.3 per cent of the non-teaching staff dislike the teachers' expectation of respect from the non-teaching staff. And this is a natural reaction. Note may be taken of the fact that in a missionary college non-teaching staff do not feel that teachers insist (by their attitudes) on their (non-teaching staff) respect towards them (teachers).

Teachers are also accused to be arrogant (Tables 6 : 4 and 6 : 5) and their very arrogant attitudes provoke non-teaching staff to react sharply towards teachers.

Powerful Man

The person (among the officials) who is the focal point of provoking bitterness between teachers and non-teaching staff, and the person who (usually but not always) leads the officials in demonstrating the non-teaching staff's antipathy (in ways often subtle) towards teachers, happens to be the head clerk or the person dominating in the office, because of his leadership qualities.

Head clerk holds the most important position in a college office. The phrase 'the most important' may sound paradoxical for officially principal in a college holds the most important position and not the head clerk. But the truth is that, in most practical cases, principal is very much dependent upon the head clerk (where he is dependable). And it is this practical sense of truth that justifies the use of the phrase in connection with head clerk in a college office. Because of his position, the head clerk has a controlling authority over other officials in the office. The fact that strengthens him most in this matter is the dependence of the principal upon him. His subordinates have to obey him. If he is a man with strong personality, he can successfully organise the non-teaching staff in the office. Tables 6 : 8, 6 : 9 and 6 : 10 respectively are relevant.

Table 6 : 8 shows that 54.0 per cent of the teachers have admitted the fact that the head clerk is the most important person in the college administration. Attention may be drawn to another point—whether principal's dependence upon

Table—6 : 8
Attitudes of teachers towards the head clerk : Whether he is the most important person in college administration

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
54 (54.0)	44 (44.0)	2 (2.0)	100 (100.0)

Table—6 : 9

Attitudes of teachers towards principal's dependence upon the head clerk in running the day-to-day college administration : Whether it strengthens the position of the head clerk

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
61 (61.0)	34 (34.1)	5 (5.0)	100 (100.0)

the head clerk strengthens the position of the head clerk. The relevant Table is 6 : 9.

Table 6 : 9 shows that 61.0 per cent of teachers think that principal's dependence upon the head clerk strengthens the position of the head clerk. Now a look into the views of the non-teaching staff as to whether principal is dependent upon the head clerk may be had. The relevant Table is 6 : 10.

Table—6 : 10

Non-teaching Staff's views : Whether principal is very much dependent upon the head clerk

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
16 (53.3)	13 (43.3)	1 (3.4)	30 (100.0)

Table 6 : 10 shows that 53.3 per cent of the non-teaching staff are of the view that principal is very much dependent upon the head clerk. Three successive tables (i.e., 6 : 8, 6 : 9, and 6 : 10) on the position of the head clerk prove it, beyond doubt, that the head clerk indeed holds a very important position.

Teachers have to depend upon the head clerk in getting a thing done by the office. So, when a confrontation takes place between teachers and non-teaching staff, it is usually between teachers and the head clerk. Often head clerk is also found to remain in the background and run the operation by proxy. Head clerk represents the office. Others in the office are generally not important for they fail to assert themselves independently of the head clerk.

If there is an attempt to override the authority of the head clerk, co-ordination in the college office suffers. Principal

zealously guards the power and position of the head clerk for he is most dependent upon him. Any encroachment of the power enjoyed by the head clerk, will affect indirectly the power and position of the principal. Principal mostly stands by the head clerk and it strengthens the position of the head clerk vis-a-vis teachers and other non-teaching employees.

In the college bureaucracy, next to principal, comes the head clerk. Head clerk is the *de facto* principal for he does many of the works of the principal under his (principal's) signature and seal in running the day-to-day college administration. Teachers and non-teaching employees, *inter alia*, are in the know of it. So everyone in a college has to care for the head clerk.

The head clerk, conscious of it, feels much powerful and considers himself at par with teachers so far his importance in the college administration is concerned. This is a further cause of tension between teachers, on the one hand, and the head clerks, on the other. It is manifest that head clerk does not care for teachers. He often puts on the airs that he is above the status of a teacher but next only to that of principal. And principal is more dependent upon the head clerk than upon teachers in matters of the college administration. Principal is more pro-office (pro-head clerk in particular) than pro-teaching staff for practical reasons. All these often lead to the head clerk becoming authoritarian and, as a consequence, a much-disliked person. Table 6 : 11 is relevant.

Table—6 : 11
Attitudes of students towards the head clerk

Like him	Dislike him	No Reply	Total
122 (45.2)	140 (52.0)	8 (2.8)	270 (100.0)

Table 6 : 11 shows that 52.0 per cent of students dislike the head clerk. While asked to give his answer to the question whether he likes or dislikes the head clerk of their college, a missionary college student without committing himself to any of the two given replies, made a sharply vulgar comment ; "Son of the Father". The comment, though much

repulsive, is much suggestive. The student concerned has given vent to his intense resentment towards the head clerk, ostensibly because : (a) the clerk is much cared for by the principal (Father) ; and (b) the authoritarian attitudes of him as a result of the blessings of the father.

Divided Non-teaching Staff

Non-teaching staff is not a homogeneous whole. It is also divided into groups opposed to one another. The head clerk is again the focal point of divisions. It is the behaviour of head clerk that brings about the division between clerks. Those who are favoured by the head clerk are included into the pro-head clerk group and those who are not, are included into anti-head clerk group.

As there is tension between teaching and non-teaching staff, so, there is tension between third grade employees and fourth grade employees within the non-teaching staff. Though there is difference of one grade only—between third and fourth grade of the non-teaching college employees—the difference is here more acute than that between teaching and non-teaching staff. The third grade employees are found to lord over the fourth grade employees, and, they do it much more than teachers do over the fourth grade employees. And it serves to brew up a bitter relation between third and fourth grade employees.

Attitudes of the head clerk, also, divide the fourth grade employees into : (a) pro-head clerk group ; and (b) anti-head clerk group—the former being favoured and the latter being not-favoured by the head clerk.

Causes

What are the causes of tension between the third and the fourth grade employees of a college ? The following are the possible explanations :

1. The fourth grade employees have to serve many masters whereas there is none to serve them. They are at the lowest rung of a college hierarchy. They have to serve principal, head clerk, other clerks and, lastly, teachers. It is an occasional complaint from teachers that they are seldom obeyed by the fourth

grade employees. This is true. They think, and rightly so, that their immediate boss is the head clerk. Then, comes the principal (they serve the principal on instruction from the head clerk), then, other clerks and, lastly, teachers. They appear to think that if the head clerk is with them, teachers can do nothing. Interestingly, head clerk likes those of the fourth grade employees who are reluctant to obey or who reluctantly obey, teachers. Defying attitudes of the fourth grade employees towards teachers and others may be traced to their frustrations.

2. Their immediate bosses—head clerk and other clerks, keenly conscious of their official rank, seem to have no sympathy for the fourth grade employees. Third grade employees are much preferred by the principal, teachers, students and others in their treatments towards them while the fourth grade employees feel neglected. Principal depends more upon the third grade than upon the fourth grade employees, for the discharge of daily duties. Third grade employees, as a result, feel boastful of it and treat the fourth grade employees indifferently. The loaves and fishes of the office are shared mostly among clerks while the fourth grade employees are given the fringe benefits.
3. (a) The weaker economic position, (b) susceptibility to temptation, financial or otherwise, (c) lack of unity, (d) loose organisation, and (e) discontent of one kind or other of the fourth grade employees. All these provoke attacks on them.
4. Teachers intervention in conflicts between teaching and non-teaching staff, in favour of the fourth grade employees, intensifies the tension between them.
5. Another potent cause of tension is the physical proximity between them—the two opposed grades of non-teaching employees. Constant close physical contacts bring out the inner disparities and reinforce the tension.

Most Dissatisfied

It may be understood, in the background of the above noted causes of tension between the third and fourth

employees, and attitudes of others towards them, why the fourth grade non-teaching employees of a college are the most dissatisfied people in a college and why their myriad dissatisfactions breed many constraints into the relation-patterns in a college. The relevant Table is 6 : 12.

Table—6 : 12

Attitudes of teachers towards the fourth grade employees of the colleges : Whether the fourth grade employees are the most dissatisfied people

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
70	28	2	100
(70.0)	(28.0)	(2.0)	(100.0)

Table 6 : 12 shows that 70.0 per cent of teachers are of the opinion that fourth grade employees are the most dissatisfied people in a college. Note may be taken that in a missionary college only 28.6 per cent (the lowest per cent) of teachers think that fourth grade employees are the most dissatisfied people.

Division between employees of the fourth grade is more complicated than it meets the eyes. Anti-head clerk section of the fourth-grade employees often are found to seek the support or advice of anti-head clerk section of teachers. Teachers opposed to the head clerk are found to support or patronise the anti-head clerk section of fourth grade employees.

Pro-office Anti-office Grouping

As allusions are already made, teachers too are divided into opposed groups : (a) anti-head clerk group (anti-office), and (b) pro-head clerk group (pro-office)—depending upon the attitude of the head clerk. Relevant Table is 6 : 13.

Table—6 : 13

Non-teaching staff's views : Whether teachers are divided into pro-office and anti-office blocks

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
18	12	—	30
(60.0)	(40.0)		(100.0)

Table 6 : 13 shows that 60.0 per cent of non-teaching staff are of the view that teachers are divided into pro-office (pro-head clerk) and anti-office (anti-head clerk) blocks.

Head clerk is diplomatic enough to spread his tentacles of influence among teachers as well, and draw a section of teachers, by offering them special services, to his favour. The office cares for a select few among teachers who are deemed competent to help them in their fight for material or tactical gains. It has been shown in Table 6 : 14.

Table—6 : 14
Attitudes of teachers towards the non-teaching staff: Whether non-teaching staff care for a select few among teachers for their own interests

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
63 (63.0)	36 (36.0)	1 (1.0)	100 (100.0)

Table 6 : 14 shows that 63.0 per cent of teachers think that non-teaching staff care for a select few among teachers for their (non-teaching staff) own interests and this is the root cause of discontent among the rest of the teachers and they (teachers) become anti-head clerk or anti-office. Office's attitudes of respect and care to certain teachers are motivated by monetary or other gains. Intrinsically, they are anti-teacher, but, for considerations of some advantages, they maintain a facade of respect and care for a few among teachers.

The cared-for teachers are often blissfully forgetful of the underlying truth and appear to feel boastful thinking that, while they are much cared for, others (of their teacher colleagues) are not. Attitudes affected with a touch of vainglory, on the part of the cared-for teachers, worsen the already bad relation between teachers (particularly the neglected ones) and the office or the head clerk. This is another cause of undesirable teacher-non-teacher relation.

Governing Body Members and Teachers

There is another dimension of the teacher-non-teaching staff relation. This is provided by the members on the Governing Body/College Council or whatever the name.

Attitudes of the members serve, no less, to contribute to the aggravation of the teacher non-teaching staff relation.

Members are not usually respectful to teachers. This was so more in the past (even in the recent past) than in the present. Their attitudes towards teachers have undergone a lot of change in the background of the changing situations. Yet, the total desirable change has not come off. A conversation with them, in private, brings out their mind on the teachers. "Teachers", a member (not a teachers' representative) comments, "are not what they should be". Table 6 : 15 gives a picture of teachers' reaction to the members.

⁵Table—6 : 15

Teachers' views : Whether teachers and Governing Body members are not usually respectful to one another

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
49	42	9	100
(49.0)	(42.0)	(9.0)	(100.0)

Table 6 : 15 shows 49.0 per cent of teachers are of the view that members are not respectful to teachers. (Note may be taken that 47.4 per cent of teachers in a government college have made no replies since they feel that it is no longer relevant.) Members too feel that teachers are not respectful to members. There is a mutual loss of respect between them. Why ? The answer to the question is provided by Table 6 : 16.

Causes

Table 6 : 16 lists eight possible causes of the deteriorated teacher-non-teacher (Governing Body members) relation :

1. Members' proneness to regulation of teachers
2. Their low educational background
3. Their political or money influence
4. Their employer-like attitudes towards teachers and non-teaching staff
5. Teachers' abhorrence for regulation
6. Teachers' high educational background
7. Teachers' keen sense of respect, and
8. Teachers' broad outlooks.

⁶ Table—6 : 16

Teachers' views: Basic causes of the loss of mutual respect between
Governing Body members and teachers

G.B. members prone to regulating teachers	Their low educational background	Their political or money influence	Their employer-like attitudes	Teachers' abhorrence for regulation	Their high educational background	Their keen sense of self-respect	Their broad outlook	No Reply	Total
14 (14.0)	10 (10.0)	27 (27.0)	27 (27.0)	11 (11.0)	11 (11.0)	22 (22.0)	7 (7.0)	49 (49.0)	100

Taking into count the views of 'teachers, (a) 'Governing Body members' political or money influence ; and (b) 'their employer-like attitudes' are regarded to be the most important causes (each being given equal weightage—27.0 per cent each).

Next to it, comes teachers' keen sense of respect (22.0 per cent).

In the third place, comes 'members' proneness to regulation' followed by, in order of teachers' preference, 'teachers' abhorrence for regulation' and 'teachers' high educational background' (each being given equal weightage—11.0 per cent each), 'members' low educational background' (10.0 per cent) and, lastly, 'teachers' broad outlook' (7.0 per cent).

It clearly appears from the table that members' political background (money background being no longer so much relevant as it was in the past) coupled with their employer-like attitudes and teachers' keen sense of self-respect are the most potent causes of the loss of mutual respect between teachers and members.

Apart from reading Table 6 : 16, it may be added that the members of the Governing Bodies of colleges are usually the influential members of the local society. Most of them, as at present, are important mainly because of their political background.

Less Tense Relation

An interesting side of the teacher non-teacher relation is that while members of the Governing Body are not favourably disposed to teachers but they are to the non-teaching employees. Members prefer non-teaching employees to teaching employees because of their weakness and amenability, among other things. Members feel, and rightly so, that teachers do not care for them while the non-teaching employees do it.

Efforts may be made to deal with the question, first, with the views of teachers and, then, with the views of non-teaching employees, as to whether the relation between the non-teaching employees and the Governing Body members is less tense. Relevant Tables are 6 : 17 and 6 : 18, respectively.

Table—6 : 17

Teachers' views: Whether relation between Governing Body members and the non-teaching employees is less tense

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
51 (51.0)	29 (29.0)	20 (20.0)	100 (100.0)

Table 6 : 17 shows that 51.0 per cent of teachers are of the view that relation between Governing Body members and the non-teaching employees is less tense. The views of non-teaching employees themselves may be taken up. Table 6 : 18 provides it.

Table—6 : 18

Non-teaching staff's views: Whether relation between non-teaching staff and Governing Body members is less tense

Yes	No	No Reply	Total
18 (60.0)	7 (23.3)	5 (16.7)	30 (100.0)

Table 6 : 18 evinces that 60.0 per cent of the non-teaching employees are of the view that relation between Governing body members and the non-teaching employees is less tense.

Causes

Now the question that is to be faced is : What are the causes of the less tense relation between Governing Body members and the non-teaching employees ? Efforts may be made to deal with the question, first, with teachers' views and, then, with non-teaching employees' views. The views are provided by Tables 6 : 19 and 6 : 20, respectively.

Table—6 : 19

Teachers' views: Basic causes of the less tense relation between the Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff

Non-teaching staff are submissive to G.B. members	They are weak to resist the G.B.	Their discontent with teachers make them an ally of the G.B. members equally discontent with teachers	No Reply	Total
28 (28.0)	19 (19.0)	18 (18.0)	65 (65.0)	100

Table 6 : 19 lists three basic causes of the less tense relation between Governing Body members and the non-teaching employees:

1. Non-teaching employees are submissive to the Governing Body members
2. They are weak to resist the Governing Body, and
3. Their (non-teaching employees') discontent with teachers make them (non-teaching staff) an ally of the Governing Body members (excluding teachers' representatives to the Governing Body) equally discontent with teachers.

It comes out clearly that 'non-teaching staff are submissive to the Governing Body members' has been deemed by teachers to be the most important cause of the less tense relation between the Governing Body members and the non-teaching employees.

Table 6 : 20 may be taken up to consider the views of non-teaching employees on the causes of the less tense relation.

Table—6 : 20

Non-teaching staff's views: Basic causes of less tense relation between Governing Body members and non-teaching staff

Non-teaching staff are weaker than teachers vis-a-vis the Governing Body	Non-teaching staff are submissive to the Governing Body	Both the G.B. members and the non-teaching staff are discontent with teachers	Teachers are the common foes of both Governing Body members and non-teaching staff	No Reply	Total
8 (26.7)	—	6 (20.0)	3 (10.0)	15 (50.0)	30

Table 6 : 20 lists four causes :

1. Non-teaching staff are weaker than teachers vis-a-vis the Governing Body
2. Non-teaching staff are submissive to the Governing Body
3. Both the Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff are discontent with teachers, and
4. Teachers are the common foes of both the Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff.

It appears from the table that 'non-teaching staff are weaker than teachers vis-a-vis the Governing Body' is deemed by the non-teaching employees to be the most important cause of the less tense relation.

Next to it, is placed 'Both the Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff are discontent with teachers'.

In the third place, comes 'Teachers are the common foes of both the Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff' while 'non-teaching staff are submissive to the Governing Body' is not counted at all by the non-teaching employees.

It may be concluded, after studying Tables 6 : 19 and 6 : 20, containing the views of teachers and non-teaching staff, that weakness or amenability of the non-teaching staff to the Governing Body is the potent cause of less tension between the Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff.

III

Impact

Attempts may now be made to explain how the teacher-non-teacher^s relation affects the teacher-student relation—attitudes of students towards their teachers in particular. The articulate section of students is well aware (Table 6 : 3) of the pervading tension (in relation) brewing up : (a) between teachers and non-teachers ; (b) between teachers themselves ; and (c) between different grades of non-teaching employees. This awareness on their part helps them form attitudes towards their teachers, in particular. Actually, these help students shape their attitudes of the rest as well as their. All of the students of a college may not be directly aware of the tension in relation, between teachers and non-teachers, between opposed groups of teachers, and, between opposed groups of non-teaching employees. But they are made aware of it by the leading section of students who are well conversant with what happens, how it happens, and, when it happens between individuals or between groups in the campus or outside the campus.

When students find that the non-teaching employees are not sad to know that a teacher is beaten by students, they are strengthened in their belief that they have done well in beating a teacher. Such an attitude, on the part of non-teaching employees, confirms, on the one hand, their antipathy towards teachers, and, on the other, inspire students to repeat the acts of humiliation on teachers.

When students misbehave with teachers and they are not decried by non-teachers, they tend to feel that they have done the right thing. When students find that non-teachers themselves are misbehaving with their teachers, students find further justification for their misdeeds. Frequencies of students' contacts with teachers are much greater than those with non-teachers and hence the chances of clash fomented by the tension-fraught milieu.

If students find that their teachers are not respected (whatever the reasons) by the non-teaching employees as well as members on the Governing Body College Council and the like body, they may also feel encouraged to do the same, and, as a consequence, their relation with their teachers is likely to

be short of the desired one—respect for teachers by students and love for students by teachers.

NOTES

- (1) Tables 6 : 4 and 6 : 5 represent structured questions. Each of the [respondents has suggested more than one causes.
- (2) What a clerk (even in a missionary college) has to say by way of airing his reaction to his teacher-colleagues may be quoted *verbatim*: "The office [clerks] is the most important part of any institution. When all the works are done by the clerks we feel that we are very much [neglected. Our pay scale is low, duty hours too long and when we are sometimes late, we are often reminded but when a teacher is late and student make noise there is no one to point at the teacher. Lecturers/professors get maximum holidays but we are given a limited holidays that is being prepared by the college authority. We should be given emphasis by the government too". It is to be noted in this connection that work-conditions and other facilities are much better in a missionary college than in other colleges including government college. When a missionary college non-teaching employees can have such a reaction (as represented in the above quoted lines) it is open to imagination what may be the reaction of a non-missionary college clerk.
- (3) The author met with an unpleasant incident in a college office where he went to meet two non-teaching employees in connection with collection of data. The first official, an M.A., turned down the request for co-operation the moment he could know that the author was a college teacher. "When I come to know", he said without mincing words "that you are a college teacher, I fail to co-operate with you." The second official, influenced by the former, also declined

to co-operate but with an affected delicacy. In another college, none but one of the approached non-teaching employees co-operated with the author, seemingly out of fear or mistrust.

- (4) Off and on, the non-teaching employees claim the same privileges as teachers enjoy. One of such claims is for off-days as teachers have for class preparation. "At a number of colleges in Calcutta and elsewhere the employees, on their own, were taking days off besides their one-and-a-half-days' weekly holiday" (The Statesman : 14.5.80, 14).
- (5) It is sometimes very difficult to explain why majority of teachers have not supported a widely admitted truth. That Governing Body members and teaching staff are not generally respectful to one another may be traced to the past behaviour and attitudes of the Governing Body members towards their teaching employees. Governing Body members were supposed to be the appointing authority while teachers and other employees were supposed to be appointed by them. Appointees had always to go by the terms and conditions set by them. In such situations, normally, the relation could not be friendly or respectful to one another. Teachers, by virtue of their superior qualifications (educational and otherwise), always thought much high of themselves and could not be respectful to the Governing Body members while members, because of their position, always tried to domineer over their employees including teachers. But the situation is gradually changing with the Governing Body members gradually losing their power. But the past is too bitter to be forgotten so soon though they are trying to behave properly, taking note of the change of situation, towards teacher and others. Responses from the teachers may point to the fact that Governing Body members are gradually changing their attitudes towards teachers and other employees under the pressure of changing situations. Governing Body

members are no longer as powerful as before in the background of a number of legislative acts and governmental attitudes towards exploitation of teachers and other employees by Governing Body members.

- (6) More than one response is given by each of the respondents.
- (7) More than one response is given by each of the respondents in Table 6 : 19 also.
- (8) Non-teachers here include : (a) non-teaching employees ; and (b) non-teaching members on the Governing Body/College Council.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter the theme presented in Chapters three to six, preceding the present one, is summarised and the relevant conclusions are drawn.

I

Intimate teacher-student relationship existed in ancient and medieval India—in the Hindu centres (under the Vedic and the Epic periods), in the Buddhist as well as the Moham-medan centres of learning.

In the Hindu centres (Gurukulas) teachers and students lived together like father (intellectual father) and son (intellectual son). After upanayan (wearing of the sacred thread) students attained second birth. Students were taught in return for their services to their teachers in the Gurukulas. Personal touch of the teacher was of utmost importance in building up character or moral education of the student. The curricula included both moral and intellectual culture among other things.

The same intimate relation was found in the Upanishads, particularly in the Kena and the Katha Upanishads.

The Epics—Ramayana and Mahabharata—present the same picture of intimate relation: Intimate relationship existed: (a) between Dronacharya and the Kaurav Princes; b) between Parsuram and Karna in the Mahabharata;

(c) between Viswamitra and sons of King Dasaratha in the Ramayana ; and (d) between Vasistha and his pupils in the Raghuvansa.

In the Buddhist centres of learning was also found the same intimate teacher-student relation, though it was not as intimate as in the case of the Hindu centres of learning or Gurukulas, mainly because of the institutional difference. While the Hindu centres were single-teacher institutions the Buddhist centres were of corporate nature. Intimate relation was there, nonetheless, because of the teaching method—tutorial followed by discussion and even lectures. Hiuen Tsing, Sankalia, among others, attest to the facts.

Even the Muslim centres of learning offer a picture of intimate teacher-student relationship. The monitorial system, which was in vogue both in the Muslim and in the Hindu centres, facilitated it.

It appears that intimate teacher-student relation existed in Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim centres of learning in ancient and Medieval India.

But the intimate teacher-student relationship began gradually to suffer as the residential centres of learning were gradually being replaced by the regular institutions. Regular institutions like the University of Takshashila in ancient India and the University of Nalanda in medieval India, followed by Madrasahs and Mukhtabs, appeared. The increasing number of students, in the background of charged socio-economic conditions, could not be accommodated in the old residential centres of learning, and, in turn, paved the way for the emergence of the regular institutions.

The ancient Indian ideal of close and cordial teacher-student relation continued to remain strong with the usual appeal, notwithstanding.

But it was so more in theory than in practice. A critical analysis of the roles of respect due to teachers from students makes it clear. A student must always obey his teacher unless ordered to commit crimes at the cost of the student's caste. He must never contradict his teacher. He always treat his teacher with the same reverence as is due to a god from a mortal.

Teacher-student relationship, in this background, could hardly be close and cordial. It was more a relationship between a god and a mortal than a relationship between man (teacher) and man (student).

An excessive respect from a student to a teacher pushes the position of a teacher too high and that of a student too low. There are other reasons (noted in Chapter 3) leading to the same result. One important of these reasons is : Students were made aware of their duties and seldom of their rights. As an inevitable result, teachers (Hindu teachers in particular) turned authoritarian.

The strength and rigidity of the Hindu system of education enabled it to be much more pervasive and permanent in its influence upon the educational centres particularly their teachers, upto the present times in India.

It is clear that, all through the ancient and medieval times, it was the teachers—Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim—who were authoritarian over their students, most prominently under the Hindu system of education.

A different type of relation was found in the British India. Everything was judged in the background of the dominant racial feeling. The Europeans, the Britishers in particular, were always held to be superior and the Indians (natives), always inferior. This was the scale of judgement in the larger society and elsewhere including educational institutions, their students, teachers and others.

Indian teachers, irrespective of merits, were always treated to be inferior and European teachers always superior. The best of Indian teachers were paid much less than that the third rate Europeans were paid. The intellectual giants like Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir P.C. Ray and others worked under a heavy load of odds and humiliations.

Indian students, quite naturally, were also put to the same humiliating treatments and they often sharply reacted. The Oaten affair was not the only one. There were many such incidents carefully recorded and handed down from generation to generation to prepare students, Indian students, to stand united and resist the haughty and arrogant teachers among the Europeans.

There were instances of Indian teachers (in Fort William College), for example, being beaten black and blue by the European or Anglo-Indian students, on one excuse or the other, for no other fault than that of colour.

Indian teachers were treated with indignity by their European colleagues and students on the one hand, and the European teachers were often violently resisted by the Indian students, on the other. The evident result was that the relation between teacher and student was far below the healthy one.

Teachers as a whole (Indian teachers for their weakness and European teachers for their haughty attitudes to the Indian students and teachers) were pushed much away from their students. Students for one reason or the other could not be respectful to them.

The long humiliated and frustrated Indian students, much aware of the vicious designs of the imperialist Britishers, broke into the independence movements under the national leaders to fight and die for freedom.

Though the teacher-student relationship, after the Independence, started on a new plane in so far as there were no racially superior people dominating a racially inferior people, yet there was no substantial change in the relation itself for the obvious reason that the attitudes of teachers did not change. Long used to obedience and compliance, they continued to expect the same conduct from their students without taking note of the fact that they were dealing with different students and in a different perspective. Students' expectation of receiving humane and sympathetic treatments from their Indian teachers received a rude shock. The inevitable happened. Much conscious of their power and rights, students naturally reacted sharply to their teachers. And this triggered off the series of violent events and incidents including insult and assaults upon their teachers and others, soon after.

Teachers changed from the Europeans into the Indians but their behaviour continued to remain the same, before and after the Independence.

There are reasons eroding the control of teachers over their students and affecting the harmonious teacher-student relationship :

1. Present teachers are much weaker economically and otherwise than their ancient counterparts because of multifarious conditions and contradictions of the present society and time. The present teachers have to live and move under a heavy weight of number of students. Examination-oriented teaching pushed them far away from their students. The general absence of moral values, accompanied by politicisation and parochialisation, in teachers and consequently in students, is another deterrent;
2. *Some reasons on the part of students* : Majority of students are trained to be clerks ; they are in college/university without any prior planning. Directionless, they feel frustrated and easily drawn into troubles by interested persons, political parties ;
3. *Home situations* : Unaffectionate and hard treatments by parents or others elders, poverty and prejudices, values like respecting elders not being inculcated ; and
4. Absence of warm and affectionate treatments and recognition at educational centres.

II

The teacher-student relationship has so long been delineated historically and in the present day general background. Efforts may now be made to analyse it empirically and to find a link, if any, between the two.

Behaviour (including teaching behaviour) of a teacher in relation to his students and others, here and there, in the class room and elsewhere gives a correct account of what the teacher concerned is like.

Class room behaviour of a teacher is important for it helps create an image of the teacher for the students who meet him almost daily in the class room. Students, even the poor ones, can make a correct estimate of the performances of their teacher. They can see through who are performing well and

who are performing worse. It is on the ground of their performances, their interest for or indifference to students or studies, that students shape their attitudes towards their teachers. They are respectful or disrespectful accordingly.

Students can well understand if a teacher has come prepared or not to handle a subject to students, if a teacher has good command over the subject he teaches and if a teacher has genuine interest in the subject being taught. It is found that a teacher's genuine interest in the subject or lack of it touches students. A student may develop love for a subject, touched by the love of a teacher for a subject. "The teachers, having no love of their subjects, cannot communicate any love to their students, and the uninterestedness of the students only makes the teacher bored" (Ross : 1969, 105). The very nature of dealing given to a subject demonstrates if the teacher concerned derive interest in teaching and studying a subject. A lively discussion of a subject presupposes a lively interest taken in the subject by the teacher. There are teachers who are not satisfied being teachers but helpless. Such teachers mostly fail to generate interest in subjects they teach. Hence such classes are mostly disinteresting to students and they do not feel drawn to such teachers. A dynamic personality of a teacher is an essential precondition for an attractive class room performance. "It is the personality of a teacher more than the external situation which plays a vital role in the teaching-learning setting" (Gandhi : 1977, 99). The same truth seems to be better stated when Cenkner says : "The personality of man becomes the principal medium of education. The role of the teacher is unique because the success of his instruction depends less upon his ideology or pedagogy than upon his personality" (Cenkner : 1976, 207).

To attract students to a subject being taught, a teacher is required to have a tripple preparation—mental, subject and a special preparation (including special interest evidence of which may be found in researchial studies by the teacher concerned). Without a special interest in a subject a teacher can seldom make the subject interesting or attractive to students and others. Research in a subject may enable the teacher to present his subject impressively to his students and make them aware of the increasing importance of research so

that students too, in course of time, may feel inclined to undertake research to further widen the subject horizons. Research and teaching are complementary and this truth is widely acknowledged by teachers but, in reality, only a few teachers are engaged in it. For teaching being attractive, a teacher needs, in addition, be sympathetic and alive to the needs of students.

Sympathy alone is not enough. A teacher sympathetic enough but unable to satisfy the intellectual curiosities of students is not wanted for the obvious reason that sympathy can never be a substitute for good teaching. Students are prepared to tolerate even an (otherwise disliked) authoritarian teacher provided he is able to satisfy them by his teaching.

Neither a good man but a bad teacher nor a bad man but a good teacher is wanted. What is wanted is that one and the same man has to be good at teaching (good teacher) as well as good at behaving (good man). To be a good teacher, one needs be a good man. Only a good man and a good teacher (combined in one) can leave permanent impressions upon his students. With this end in view, one has to be a teacher more by heart than by profession and that mental qualifications of a teacher deserve precedence over his educational qualifications though both are essential.

But the reality is much disheartening. Good and sympathetic teachers are in dearth. The authoritarian and perfunctory behaviour of teachers fails to recognise that : (a) students too are honourable people, fit to be courteously treated and not to be abused or put to indignity ; and that (b) they too have the right to question to get their ideas cleared of doubts, if any.

The private tuition-tired teachers fail to satisfy their students in the class rooms (meant for the general students) as they fail to exert themselves upto desired mark in dealing with the subject. Students remain discontent.

Students privately tutored for money are given preferential treatments breeding, in turn, grievances in the minds of those not tutored. Further, students tutored by different teachers are divided into opposing groups with a peculiar yet subtle tension between groups.

Meritorious but poor students are the worst victims of the private tuition. They can not afford private tuition but a bit of extra care from teachers might help them score high marks in examinations. Those who have first class actually, do not deserve it. They have it on the strength of private tuition. Those who actually deserve it do not have it in the absence of an extra care from teachers.

Private tuition by teachers, even at the cost of their duties towards students in the class room and outside, is indicative of their keen desire to earn more money and to join the made rush for earning more and more money with others already in the run from other professions.

Still, there are many teachers who never busy themselves with private tuition yet they are not free for students. They are preoccupied with either politics, household chores, coaching their own children or their idle nature.

All these lead to the inevitable result of the syllabi remaining uncovered by lectures, etc.

A teacher—not equipped with the necessary mental aptitude of being a successful teacher, one not imbued with the good qualities of heart and head, one otherwise busy fails to impress upon his students. Students turn disgustful and discontent.

Admittedly, students stand struck. But all is not lost. Every college has a few teachers, widely held in great admiration and honour, whose examples in teaching as well as in everyday behaviour are apt to be emulated by their students and others. Teachers insulted are mostly those who lack in the qualities of head and heart—good teaching and sympathetic dealings in particular.

The healthy teacher-student relation is affected by some physical unhealthy conditions as well. They are, inter alia, the following :

1. The crowded and noisy atmosphere in the class room, often dark, damp or otherwise inconvenient ;
2. The crowded staff room where teachers can not even rest and prepare for the next class, between classes ;
3. Absence of a dias (in some rooms of a college and in some colleges) under the feet of a teacher crippling his effort to properly reach his voice to the audience ;

4. Absence of blackboard or too small a blackboard or a dim one (in some rooms of a college and in some colleges) affecting the effort to bring clearly what is written on the blackboard to the notice of the audience ; and
5. Absence of honours classes (in many colleges and in many subjects) hinders the growth of a warm relation of teachers and students engaged in dissemination of knowledge at a higher level.

Some uninspiring library conditions also affect the class room behaviour of students among others. The striking conditions are the following :

1. Library remains closed for this or that (excuses or reasons) ;
2. Necessary books are borrowed by teachers and not returned for months together ; and
3. Students are left with no alternative but to depend either on the mercy of their teachers or on the third rate books or notes with the result that they fail to pursue their studies upto their expectation and remain disgruntled.

Common room conditions too play a role in worsening the relation. The following are important : Inadequate or lack of common room facilities drive students to :

- (a) Run and gossip here and there resulting often into;
- (b) Boys running after girls, and when they come back to class rooms.
- (c) They remain still restless and unmindful, and thus, unable to participate with full attention in what is being discussed inside the class room by teachers and others.

Students' deficiencies and learning apathy are the further constrains in the teacher-student relationship.

It emerges that teachers alone are not to blame. They too are human beings made of blood and flesh, susceptible to physical or other conditions as described above and open to some consequent reactions on their part. Such conditions may affect as much the teacher as the student. Teacher-student relation may deteriorate, in such a background, for

no fault of either the student or the teacher but for the situation obtaining at a particular time and place.

Attention may now be turned to examination hall behaviour of teachers and, consequently, of students.

Invigilating teachers are broadly divided into three groups vis-a-vis their duty resisting malpractice :

1. Those who are determined to root out malpractice in examination halls and those who take leads in detecting and expelling dishonest examinees ;
2. Those who are always floating, never being active in matters of curbing the malpractice, but (those who) collect around the invigilators when there is a hue and cry over the act of detecting malpractice in the face of opposition from the dishonest and disagreeable examinees; and finally;
3. Those who, by their sheer neglect of the allotted duty, encourage malpractice in the examination halls.

The result is that the serious examinees, averse to unfair means fall prey to the situation. They find that their hard labour over the year is lost for no fault of theirs. Frustrated as they are, they tend to feel (swayed by the examination hall situations) prone to throw to winds their sincerity or honesty and jump into the fray of coying or other malpractice.

The following reasons are important for the malpractice and insults on the invigilating teachers :

1. Disunity and lack of determination among the invigilators ;
2. Few teachers are involved in the act of resisting malpractice and this explains why they are easily singled out and thrown open to insults or assaults. If all the invigilators could be equally involved in it, singling out might be difficult ; and
3. Narrow personal concerns of some teachers throw further down to danger the few active invigilating teachers.

The picture is clear. All these divisive and selfish attitudes of teachers make it clear to their students that, their teachers are unable to stand upright because of their own inherent

weakness. Students may like such teachers temporarily as they are helping them but, in their minds, students have no respect for such teachers as they show no examples, by their actions, worth being followed. Such a teacher-student relation is never marked by respect for the teacher and love for the student—the two essential ingredients of a desired relation.

By nature, students are watchful and curious about their teachers. They watch their teachers from class room to the staff room, from college campus to their residences, their private life does not escape. They know who, of their teachers, have married by love or married their female students, and the like. They shape their attitudes towards their teachers in such a background. Personal lives of teachers have much to do with the attitudes of their students towards them (teachers). They (students) are respectful or disrespectful accordingly.

It is clear, that students fail to find in their teachers 'the model teachers' they hope to find in them. As a result, spontaneous flow of respect for such teachers from students suffers a setback. Advices from such teachers to do this or that surely fail to carry weight. When students fail to respect their teachers, they fail to be 'teachers' for their teaching does not impress upon their students for the basic incongruity between their teaching of subjects and the teaching of personal lives. They are teachers officially.

Many teachers, as shown above, spend their time in an anti-intellectual way, having nothing to do with their studies or students. They are leading lives which fail to inspire respect in their students and others coming in touch with them.

Different managements of colleges have a role in worsening the relation between teachers and teachers, students and students, and others over the colleges of different managements. The following are the managerial categories in order of preferences :

1. Missionary College
2. Government College
3. University College
4. Government-Sponsored College, and
5. Private College.

The main attraction of the missionary college (managed by Fathers) is that its students, drawn as they are from the people of high income bracket, are psychologically trained to be 'Sahibs', with English being the medium of instruction for all courses and at all levels. Teachers and other employees here generally regard themselves better placed. What further boosts up its position is that it is comparatively free from disturbances. All these build up a peculiar complex among its teachers, students and others and lead to the creation of an artificial distance between them and those of the other colleges.

Teachers, students and others of a government college too feel different from those of the other colleges by virtue of their being government college teachers, students and others.

Similarly, teachers, students and others of a university college feel different from those of the other colleges—government-sponsored and private colleges in particular—because of their being attached to university (or what they think, because of their being at par with university teachers, students, employees and others).

Government-sponsored college, placed between university college, on one hand, and private college, on the other, is apathetic both to the university college as well as to the private college. There is a subtle competition between university college and government-sponsored college, each claiming to be superior in status to the other.

Private college comes last. It is taken into count neither by the government-sponsored college nor by the university college, among others. Teachers, students and others of private college are painfully aware of the attitudes of teachers, students and others of the other colleges. The general indifferent attitudes towards a private college teachers, students and others may explain why students' indiscipline is more felt in a private college than in the other colleges.

The indifferent attitudes towards a private college, its teachers and others may be traced back to the past when its employees including teachers were open to exploitation by the respective managements and teachers there did not enjoy even the status of a clerk in government office or a bank. Naturally, a bank clerk then was preferred to a college lecturer. This was so until the implementation of the revised

UGC Scale of Pay (1973) backed by West Bengal (Payment of Salaries) Act, 1978. Attitudes nurtured over the years are yet to die.

The picture is clear. The different managements have their impact more upon the attitudes of teachers, and consequently upon those of their students, among others, towards the teachers, students and others of the other colleges with different managements than on the other aspects :

- (a) Political involvement of teachers, students and others is there more or less in every college (partly, excepting missionary college).
- (b) Negligent and narrow attitudes of teachers and others are there more or less in every college.
- (c) Private tuition by teachers is there more or less in every college.
- (d) Strained teacher-non-teacher relation is there more or less in every college.
- (e) Material outlook is all pervasive among teachers across the managerial boundaries of all colleges.
- (f) Teachers' disinclinations towards researchial activities are there more or less in every college.
- (g) Some crippling physical situations are also there more or less in every college ; and to cap it all, as an inevitable consequence.
- (h) Discontent, or what is called indiscipline among students, remains overtly and covertly in every campus in different degrees.

The managerial differences, so long they remain, will continue to plague the relations between or among colleges, their teachers, students and others. However, it may be pointed out that missionary college indeed enjoys an edge over any other college so far the student indiscipline is concerned. But a woman's college is involved in it, as much as any other.

Some particular attitudes of teachers have damaging effect upon the teacher to teacher and teacher to student relation. The attitudes under reference are the following :

1. Many teachers are critical of their own departmental colleagues in the same college. Mutual denigration, and squabbles are common ;

2. Attitudes of teachers of different subjects are often affected with negligence to one another. Teachers of Economics, for example, have attitudes of neglect to those of Bengali ;
3. Teachers of different streams (like Arts, Commerce and Science) are not often respectful to one another. Teachers of Science, for example, have attitudes of neglect to those of Arts ;
4. Commerce teachers are often accused to be more material in outlook than those of Science or Arts. But the truth is that material outlook has affected teachers as a whole irrespective of subjects of streams; and
5. Teachers of colleges (excepting those of missionary college) are under the impression that teachers of university treat them with an indifference and that the attitude in turn affects their students.

When the attitudes of teachers are as they are shown until now, it is nothing surprising when they are strict by their own students. The causes why teachers are put to insults or assaults are arranged below in order of priority following the views of teachers and students :

<i>Teacher's views</i>	<i>Student's views</i>
1. Strict invigilation by teachers	1. Rough behaviour of teachers
2. Partisan attitudes of teachers	2. Neglect of duty by teachers
3. Neglect of duty by teachers	3. Partisan attitudes of teachers
4. Rough behaviour of teachers	4. Bad teaching by teachers
5. Misunderstanding between students and teachers, and	5. Strict invigilation by teachers, and
6. Teaching inabilities of teachers.	6. Loose character of teachers.

Students seek in their teachers the following qualities (arranged in order of their preferences) :

1. Sympathy for students
2. Good teaching from their teachers

3. Good behaviour from their teachers
4. Dutifulness from their teachers
5. Scholarship from their teachers
6. Close contact with students and teacher's impressive personality
7. Good character from their teachers, and
8. Impartiality from their teachers.

It appears from the above picture that, good teaching with sympathy followed by good behaviour, among other qualities, is the crying need.

Admittedly, teachers have the moral responsibility of guiding their students aright not only in learning but also in everyday behaving. It presupposes that teachers have to conduct themselves properly. They have to teach more by personal examples than by precepts. Teachers have to rise above the parochial mentality and inspire their students with high ideas (themselves, of course, practising them at the same time) so as to deserve the desired respect from their students. Students do not like to respect for nothing. Teachers have to qualify for it, not only teaching well in the class room, not only behaving well in the class room and outside, not only having sympathy for students and their problems but also leading a responsible, good and moral life in private and public). Character of a teacher is bound to weigh with the personality of a student and the personality is a great medium of education and instruction.

III

Political attitudes of teachers have much to do with the shaping of political attitudes of their students. This is facilitated by the fact that the present students, politically more conscious than their predecessors, do know who, of their teachers, belong to this political party, who belong to that and do not belong to any political party at all. This is again facilitated in two ways :

- (a) It is easy for them to know the political affiliation of those teachers who are actively associated with a political party ;

- (b) It is not difficult for them to know even those who are not politically active, students know their party affiliation from their unguarded comments, made in the background of different situations, in favour or against a political party. Students' awareness of teachers' association, direct or indirect, with a political party is important.

Concomitant with the active politician teacher is the truth that such a teacher hardly finds time or mind to devote to students and studies. He is much burdened with his political assignments. He becomes, as a result, more an uncommitted than a committed teacher. Political involvement of teachers is an open invitation to the political involvement of students. And a mediocre student, more concerned with a job than his studies, finds a politician teacher more helpful than a non-politician one. This further boosts up the importance of a politician teacher in the eyes of the general students. Political views of teachers strengthen those of their students when the views are already formed and encourage them to take particular political views when the views are not formed. Students with vague political views (particularly from villages with illiterate parents) are more open to the political views of the teachers of their choice than others (of the urban areas and with literate parents).

Common political party between teachers and students makes feasible the political leadership of teachers over their students. It is this commonness of political party that leads to the commonness of political views between teachers and their students. And this again constitutes a strong bond between them. Parallel political grouping among teachers and students is but a corollary. When a particular students' union comes to power, a particular set of teachers is active in giving necessary counsels and advices to the leaders of the students' union, of course, from a distance. The link between the two is obviously the common political party. A students' union represents one political party or the other. Students' union is an important machinery for a political party for it serves to expand its spheres of influence among students and others. And this explains why students' union can not be done away with, in spite of the fact that it has precipitated,

has been precipitating and will precipitate, countless troubles in or out of the campus.

Teacher-student relationship is replaced by a political 'dada-bhai' relationship or the political relationship. This is unique in the sense that it is grounded not on respect for teacher and love for student but on common political faith. A political 'dada' need not be a good teacher. A political 'bhai' need not be a good student either. What is needed is the commitment to the common political party.

The political grouping among teachers and consequently among students is encouraged by a number of factors. Two very important of them are :

1. Identical political opinion (among teachers and consequently among students) ; and
2. Pro- and anti-principal division (among teachers and consequently among students)—one group liking him, another disliking him.

This division over the principal is but another expression of political division. With the change of state politics there is a corresponding change of pro-principal and anti-principal grouping. The helpless principal, to remain in his uncomfortable saddle, has to go by the ruling political party's people among teachers and students. Pro-principal teachers/students are pro-ruling political party people and anti-principal teachers/students are naturally anti-ruling political party people.

Politics, it is clear, is all pervasive. When every elder in a college—teacher, non-teaching employee, Governing Body member and others - is steeped into politics, a student (in the most formative and impressionable stage of life) can not remain unaffected by it. He is irresistibly drawn into it.

The teacher-student relationship, in this background, is highly politicised. Such a relation may be helpful to the propagation of a particular political ideology but never to the dissemination of true knowledge or the cultivation of high moral values, the burning need for the crisis-ridden times.

Political neutrality in a teacher is what is most needed in a society riven by dirty politics. A political view is always a biased view. A teacher needs an objective view of life and

things. He is desired to be a critic of everything bad and admirer of everything good. A politically committed teacher is negligent of his duties as a teacher and he fails to see things from a wide spectrum. And a smooth flow of respect from a student to a teacher stumbles on the rock of political division. When students become unruly in open defiance of their teachers, teachers have to remain as passive onlookers as they have no moral strength to bear upon them.

IV

A college being a totality of students, teachers, non-teaching employees, Governing Body members and others, behaviour of the seniors (among themselves) have an effect over the juniors, students in particular. When teaching and non-teaching people including Governing Body members treat one another with indifference or even indignity, students around are most influenced by it in shaping their attitudes towards them, teachers in particular.

When students find that their teachers are indifferently treated or often insulted by non-teaching employees, Governing Body members and others, students may feel shaken by such considerations as : (a) their teachers may not be worthy of being respected ; (b) non-teachers' apparently slighting behaviour towards teachers may be justified, etc.

The most important of the effects is that, the indifferent treatments of the teachers by the non-teaching people including Governing Body members bring the teachers much down in the general esteem and, in the process, serve to excite the student against the teachers.

Relation between teaching and non-teaching people in a college is strained because of a number of reasons of which : (1) different pay ; and (2) work-condition are the most important.

Difference of pay between the two may not be erased but the work-conditions of the non-teaching employees may be improved and teachers may learn to give their non-teaching friends due respect for they are indisputably their colleagues. The only difference is that they are non-teaching colleagues. Teachers are essential for a college but non-teachers are

also essential. One cannot go without the other. Respecting one another is the need.

The non-teaching staff, in general, are allergic to teachers and teachers, conscious as they are of their better pay, education and status are guilty of wanting to be respected by the non-teaching staff (obviously, because of their low ranking, pay and education, heedless, at the same time, of the non-teaching staff's expectation of respect from teachers. Teachers seem to feel that they are superior to the non-teaching employees and deserve to be respected while the non-teaching staff appear to feel that, though they may not have the same educational background as teachers have, they are not less important to the institution where both serve, and deserve to be respected. It appears that there is a crisis of recognition of each other's worth. Both are equally important and both need recognise it. So long this recognition is not forthcoming so long the trouble.

There are other channels through which the teacher-non-teacher relation is embittered. Important of them is the role of a head clerk. In a college usually if not always, a head clerk with the dependence of a principal upon him, plays a dominant role throwing teachers, other non-teaching employees of third and fourth grades, divided into pro-head clerk (pro-office) and anti-head clerk (anti-office) blocks. These divisions emerge on the basis of the head clerk (and also on the interests of the persons concerned) who can make and break many things with the tacit consent of the principal. He becomes much powerful man next to principal in a college bureaucracy. His attitudes to teachers, students and others smack of it, with the result that he often becomes the most disliked man among the non-teaching employees.

An interesting side of the teacher-non-teacher relation is that non-teaching employees' relation with teachers is tense while non-teaching employees' relation with the Governing Body members is much less tense. A comparative analysis of the views of both the non-teaching employees and teachers on the reasons leads to the conclusion that weakness, anti-teacher bias or amenability of the non-teaching employees to the Governing Body members are the important of the causes of the less tense relation between Governing Body members and the non-teaching staff.

Teacher-Governing Body member relation suffers from a mutual loss of respect. A comparative analysis of the views of teachers and 'members on the reasons lead to the conclusion that Governing Body members' political background backed by their employer-like attitudes plus teachers' keen sense of respect are the most potent of the causes of mutual loss of respect between them.

It now clearly appears that the whole of the college atmosphere is fraught with tension of one kind or the other. There is tension between : (1) teachers and non-teachers ; (2) between non-teaching staff and Governing Body members ; (3) between Governing Body members and teachers ; (4) between teachers themselves ; (5) between non-teaching employees themselves ; and (6) between the third and the fourth grades of the non-teaching people in a college.

When this is the situation, students can not remain unaffected, when they are affected, their attitudes towards teachers and others are also stamped with it.

Quintessence

It emerges clearly, after a study of the historical and empirical aspects of the study, that there is a positive link between the past and the present and the following are the obvious conclusions :

The authoritarian and self-centered attitudes of the present teachers may be traced to the similar attitudes of the ancient Hindu teachers though structurally modern colleges are better compared with the Buddhist Vihars than the Hindu Gurukula systems. Teachers of today, as those of the past, expect too much respect from their students while themselves remaining blind to students' natural expectations from teachers. From the hoary past to the present, teachers were what they are to-day with, of course, periodic breaks under some extraneous pressure but when the Indian teachers could not be authoritarian, others could. The chain, however, remains unbroken. The British period was one such period when Indian teachers failed to assert in their relation to their students because they were then the subjugated people. But teachers were assertive or authoritarian, not the Indian teachers but the European (British in particular) teachers.

The present protesting spree, restlessness, loss of respect to the teachers and the like among students, are but reactions to the injustice, through the centuries, done to the mute students made aware only of their duties and not of their rights. Centuries of deprivations of what were due to them have very naturally awakened them to defend their own interests against the onslaughts from others including their teachers.

The post Independence students, much conscious of their power (power that helped drive the Britishers and bring Independence) and of a strong sense of their rights so long neglected, now easily protest against any action from teachers and others, which they consider wrong or unjustified. So long students feared the authority but now, time has come, when the Authority has come to fear students. "Student disillusion and resentment have grown to such an extent that teachers have often to move about suspiciously or even afraid of their own pupils. . . .students could now be as easily organised to force a teacher to a humiliating apology as to encompass his summary dismissal. . . .the broad plain fact is that the links of mutual trust and love between teachers and pupils have snapped with a bang" (Iyengar : 1971, 213). This is clearly because of their (teachers in authority) weaknesses.

In the present background, what is important and necessary for taming the turbulent and for obviating the disciplined from turning indisciplined is an affectionate, compassionate, ideal, academically serious and politically neutral teacher. Indian students need it most. Authoritarian and perfunctory attitudes at home, at educational institutions, in broader societies and elsewhere, have conspired to bring about the present havoc at the campuses. "Values of democracy and equality are stressed in the general society, but the old hierarchic pattern continues at home and in the educational institutions. The young adolescent is bewildered by this contradiction. It is idle to expect that student unrest will disappear so long as the democratic values are not internalised by the parents at home and the teachers in the educational institutions ; the hierarchic pattern and the demand for obedience by elders liberates free floating aggressive impulses which take a ready shape in violence when irritating occasions arise. . . .it must be confessed that the authoritarian

attitudes prevail widely at home, in school as well as in the society" (Kuppaswamy : 1975, 300-302). Humane relationship at all the levels is thus the answer to the problem. To make this possible, teachers, inter alia, have to discharge their onerous duty most responsibly.

It is true that teachers and students do not act in the vacuum. They are bound to be influenced by what happen in the institutions they belong to and in the society they live and move about what the society or the institution is like, its values and myriad other forces at work.

Students too have to strive to be able to catch with their teachers. Teachers alone can not be blamed for the deteriorating quality among students. Teacher is surely one of the factors.

Teachers have important roles to play. But social and political leaders, among others, have to play responsible roles at various levels. "The problem of student unrest is only a reflection of the general unrest prevalent in the country due to the inept and inefficient handling of the national problems by the leaders who are at the helm of affairs" (Damle : 1971, 96).

It is necessary to take note of the fact that teachers are weak to have their ways because society as a whole does not yet give them the recognition they need, to be in a position to influence their students and others. "Though teachers are among one of the largest and oldest occupational groups, the teaching profession in our society does not yet receive the same status and recognition as other professions such as law, medicine, engineering and architecture" (Shrimali : 1961, 86). In our society a bank clerk is more respected than a college teacher (at least, it was so a few years back). People being too much money-oriented, they honour only those who have money, key to the position and power in society.

Yet there is no denying that teachers have to bear the torches of light to disperse the dark. They have to do their mite to shape the society in an ideal way. There lies their salvage, their success or the claims of being teachers.

Teaching a subject will not suffice. Teachers have to intersperse the teaching with necessary situational doses of moral teaching and to confirm it by their personal activities.

A teacher has not only to give his students the inherited knowledge, he has also to contribute some thing original to the existing stock of knowledge by way of extending the frontiers of his subject as well as the mental horizons of his students and, in the process, inspire his students and others with the greatness of a teacher and also to inspire them to follow his ideals. "Prominent among the various reasons why every . . . teacher should be a researcher is the effect of research upon himself and his pupils. If our teaching is to be fresh and our graduate school active we must be active ourselves. A lifeless professor means a lifeless school" (Truscot : 1951, 154).

He is expected to be a teacher not only of a few hundred students of a certain institution but of the whole society. People want him to be aware of it and shape his thoughts and acts accordingly. He is also expected to be a teacher more by heart than by profession and make it possible that his students find the practical meaning of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity in his total behaviour, in his life styles and in his thought patterns.

APPENDIX

Tables 4 : 23 & 4 : 24

Table 4 : 23—Teachers' views : Causes of insults on teachers by their students

Strict invigilation	Partisan attitudes of teachers	Neglect of duty by teachers	Rough behaviour of teachers	Teaching inability of teachers	Misunderstanding between teachers and students	No Reply	Total
42 (42.0)	19 (19.0)	8 (8.0)	5 (5.0)	1 (1.0)	5 (5.0)	46 (46.0)	100

Table 4 : 24—Students' views : Causes of insults on teachers by their students

Neglect of duty by teachers	Loose character of teachers	Strict invigilation by teachers	Bad teaching	Rough behaviour of teachers	Partisan attitudes of teachers	No Reply	Total
25 (9.3)	4 (1.4)	5 (1.9)	10 (3.7)	46 (17.0)	14 (5.2)	182 (67.4)	270

NOTES

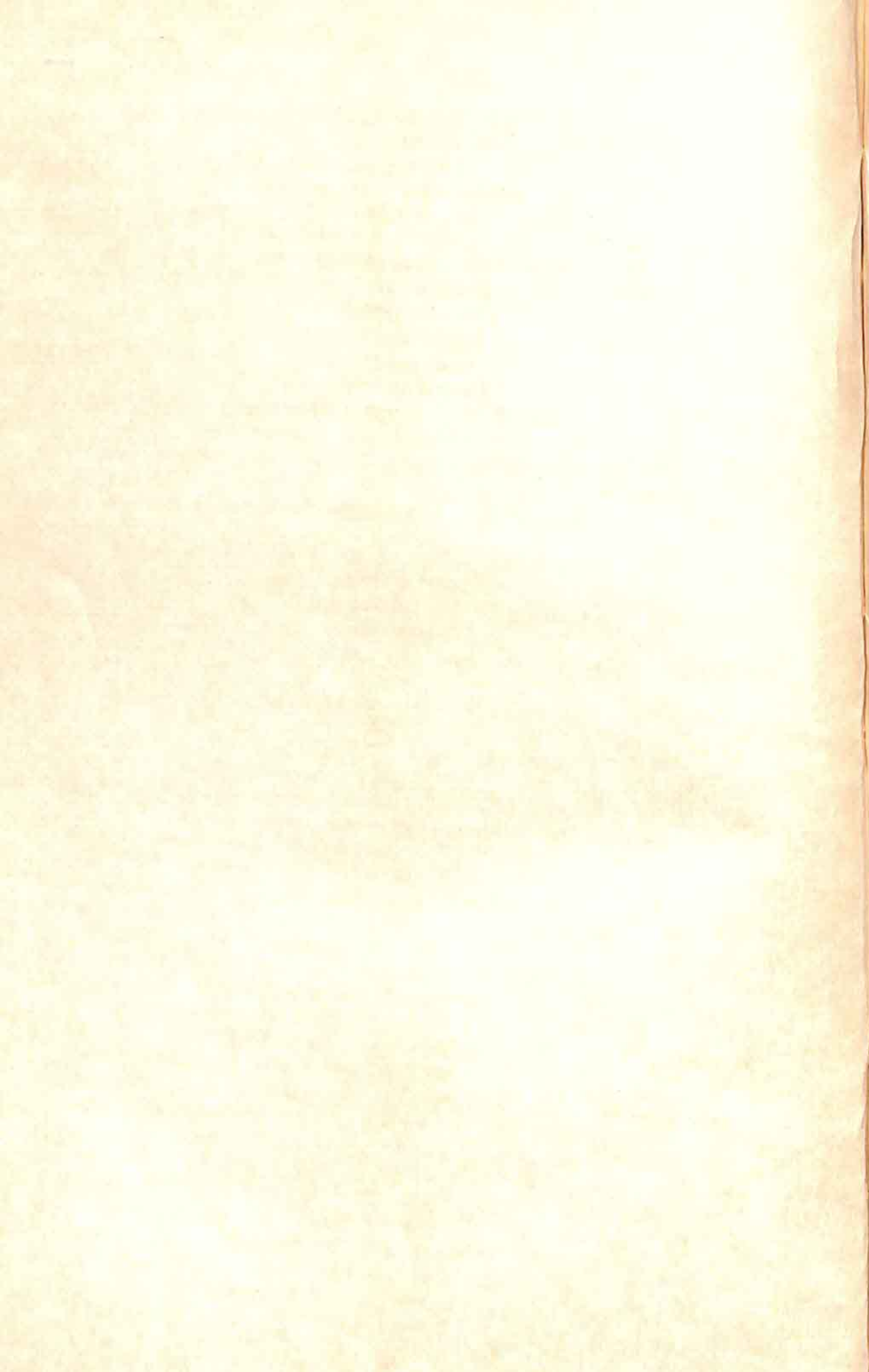
- (1) It appears from Tables 4 : 23 and 4 : 24 that neither the teachers nor the students have been found much ready to express their views on the causes of insults on teachers by their students. It further appears that students have been found far less ready than teachers to express their views.
- (2) Both the tables are based on the responses received from teachers and students, respectively to unstructured questions. Both the teachers and students are left free to suggest as many causes as they think important in the cases of insults on teachers by their students. Hence, more than one response from one respondent. And this explains why the arithmetical total in the table (horizontally) does not tally with the total number of teachers and students, respectively, taken from each of the seven colleges.

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